California Journal

THE MONTHLY REPORT ON STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Special Report

Analysis of June primary

PUC

Are electricity rates upside down?

SUPREME COURT

What difference has Clark made?

April 1974

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE...

By Ed Salzman

Another side of Bill Knowland

Senator Bill Knowland was described upon his death as, among other things, gruff and stubborn, a responsible conservative, a gentleman and patriot, and as righteous, loyal and energetic. The man they once called "the Senator from Formosa" (because of his strong support of Nationalist China in the 1950s) was known as a man who kept his word. Pat Brown, the man who beat Knowland for the governorship in 1958, said of him: "I never met a more honest man."

But the public, especially the liberal Democratic public, never was given a chance to see another important side of the Senator, who was my boss for 15 years. Bill Knowland never attacked another individual, politician or otherwise personally. Every public statement he ever made was addressed to the issues of the day — but not because Knowland didn't have strong feelings about politicians. He simply played the game as fairly as it could be played.

I recall an election night many years ago when the *Oakland Tribune* political writers, including myself, were waiting for the returns and shooting the breeze in the publisher's office. The Senator's huge Saint Bernard, Alice, was beside him, and Knowland was in a rare, relaxed frame of mind. He astounded us by describing the difficulty he had as Senate Republican leader discussing policy with President Eisenhower because Ike was not familiar with some of the nation's most important issues. Then Knowland proceeded to express his admiration for another President he had known, Harry Truman, whom he considered a friend and a good President (although they had their disagreements on issues).

* * *

The man Knowland probably liked least was Richard Nixon. It was back in 1952 that Knowland and Nixon, then California's two senators, headed for the Republican national convention in Chicago supposedly to get the presidential nomination for favorite son Earl Warren. Knowland remained loyal to Warren, while Nixon went to work for Eisenhower and became the vice-presidential nominee. Only a short while later, when the Nixon-fund story broke, Knowland was told to get ready to succeed Nixon as the vice-presidential candidate. But Nixon saved himself with the "Checkers" speech. Exactly 10 years later, Nixon found himself running for Governor of California against Brown, who had ended Knowland's political career by winning the job in 1958. During the campaign, Nixon came to Oakland and took the elevator to the fourth floor of the *Tribune* to see his former Senate colleague and solicit his support. The receptionist told her boss that Nixon was there, but Knowland kept the candidate waiting perhaps 20 minutes before calling him into his office. They talked briefly, and then Nixon asked Knowland for permission to campaign in the *Tribune* offices. Knowland called the receptionist and instructed her to "show him around". Nixon was dumped in the city room and left to fend for himself.

But Knowland's personal feelings for Nixon did not prevent him from displaying his loyalty to the Republican Party. Editorial writer Jack Ryan came out of a meeting on the subject of endorsement shaking his head. "I've got to write an editorial endorsing Nixon," he said, "without saying one word against Pat Brown." (The editorial said, in effect, that there was nothing much wrong with Brown and that Nixon was getting the nod because he was a Republican.) On the day after Brown won, Knowland was unable to conceal a smile.

* * *

The Senator had a reputation as a staunch conservative. He reinforced that view by his state leadership of the Barry Goldwater campaign in 1964. There is no question that Knowland was a hard-liner in foreign affairs. His speeches often contained this line: "Appeasement is surrender on the installment plan." But he was remarkably progressive in the spending of money for public projects. The *Tribune* invariably endorsed major expenditures for schools, parks, museums, airports and other projects. The Senator himself played a major role in the development of the Oakland-Alameda County Coliseum Complex, which has become the prime sports center of Northern California. And he did it even though it meant a significant addition to the property-tax burden of the East Bay.

More than any other man, the Senator became the symbol of the fight against organized labor in California. This reputation derived from his embrace of the "right-to-work" proposition on the 1958 ballot, a position that guaranteed his loss to Brown and a landslide victory for the Democrats. Yet, Knowland as an employer made absolutely no distinction between pro- and anti-union employees. I was active in the Newspaper Guild, and served as chairman of the *Tribune* unit in a year of especially difficult contract negotiations. Knowland never held this against me.

It is not generally known, but there recently was an attempt made to organize another "right-to-work" initiative in California under the unofficial sponsorship of the California Chamber of Commerce. It was Knowland, long a power in the chamber, who used his influence to kill the proposal. He was a man of principle, but he wasn't about to make the same mistake twice.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California Journal
Volume V, Number 4
April 1974

PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER
Thomas R. Hoeber
EDITOR
Ed Salzman
MANAGING EDITOR
Bruce Keppel
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Judson Clark, William Geyer
WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT: Lou Cannon
ART: Don Hair
SUBSCRIPTION MANAGER: Barbara Aguirre
COUNSEL: Conrad Lee Klein

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is published by the California Center for Research and Education in Government, a nonprofit, tax-exempt corporation. Publication is assisted by grants from **The Ford Foundation, Michael J. Connell Foundation, Apple Hill Foundation, Crown Zellerbach Foundation, LARAS Fund,** and **Jansz Foundation.**

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
EUGENE C. LEE, Chairman, Director of the Institute of Governmental Studies, Berkeley
RICHARD BESERRA, Attorney, Martinez.
MAYOR TOM BRADLEY, Los Angeles.
JUDSON CLARK, California Research, Sacramento.
DORMAN L. COMMONS, financial consultant, Fullerton.
JAMES W. HALLEY, attorney and former Republican State Chairman, San Francisco.
THOMAS R. HOEBER, California Journal, Sacramento.
BERNARD HYINK, professor of political science, Fullerton.
EVELYN P KAPLAN, President, League of Women Voters of California, San Mateo.
ROSELLEN KEESHAW, President, American Association of University Women, Fresno.
MAYOR NORMAN Y. MINETA, San Jose
EMILY G. PIKE, businesswoman, San Francisco.
JUDGE BRUCE SUMNER, Judicial Council of California.
MAYOR PETE WILSON, San Diego
EX OFFICIO (Co-Founders): Jerome Evans, Victor H. Fazio, William Geyer.

Subscription rates: Libraries and Governmental Agencies, $30; Corporations and Associations, $50; Special Individual Rate, $15.

Copyright 1974 by California Center for Research and Education in Government, 1617 10th Street, Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone: (916) 444-2840. Second class postage paid at Sacramento, Calif.

Contents

Reagan's alter-ego on the Wright court 117

Young Justice William Clark, a lawyer without a law degree and a former aide to the Governor, was elevated to the Supreme Court last year over the Chief Justice's objection, and so far circumspection is the watchword.

- Left, right and center on the high court 116
- A tradition of revolution 119

Protest over utility rates 121

Consumers are raising searching questions in the wake of rapid increases — among them whether the poor are subsidizing the rich and whether the PUC is equipped to set power charges.

The decline and fall of C. Arnholt Smith 125

"Mr. San Diego", a pillar of his community and a longtime Nixon supporter, has run into hard times as his financial and political empire totters.

Primary Election Analysis

In an eight-page Special Report, the *Journal* analyzes the statewide, legislative and congressional races on the June 4th ballot, district by district. Reprints are available.

Chamber of Commerce's delicate balancing act 129

Reconciling the conflicting voices of business tends to mute a potentially powerful lobbying force, but it does more than just guide lost tourists.

Design for a Governor's mansion 132

Is the Reagan-backed residence "Timeless Early California Spanish" or "Late Suburban Country Club" — and unfit for Democratic aspirants?

Pollution bonds — $200 million embarrassment 134

Aid to affluent polluters was not exactly what many voters had in mind in authorizing use of tax-free loans to finance required cleansing gear.

How the state and Baja help one another 136

The Commission of the Californias is little known and costs neither side very much, but it hasn't been without good effect.

DEPARTMENTS

Newsbriefs	120	Rollcall	140
Court actions	138	California Calendar	141
Newsmakers	139	Lou Cannon	143

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Left, right and center on the high court

Each decision of the California Supreme Court is the product of the personalities and experiences of the justices.

Who are the men who make up the state's highest court? Justices Stanley Mosk and Mathew Tobriner are regarded as the most liberal, and Justices Louis Burke, Marshall McComb and William Clark Jr., the most conservative. Chief Justice Donald Wright and Justice Raymond Sullivan fall somewhere in between.

Though each justice operates as an independent entity in his chambers, decisions are made in the court's conference room, where some viewpoints are argued more forcefully than others. [See "Behind the blue velvet curtain," *CJ*, August 1972, p. 221.] Following is an indication of what each of the justices brings to those debates:

Justice Tobriner. With the death of Raymond Peters, the 70-year-old Tobriner has assumed the role of the court's leading liberal and humanist, positions for which he is an articulate and determined spokesman. He took his law degree from Harvard in 1927 and was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1962 by former Democratic Governor Edmund G. Brown.

Justice Mosk. Another Brown appointee, the 61-year-old Mosk is a former state attorney general. He often joins with Tobriner to champion liberal positions. U.S. Senator Sam Ervin, an expert in the field of constitutional law and chairman of the Senate's Watergate Committee, has referred to Mosk as "one of the finest constitutional lawyers in the United States."

Justice McComb. At 79 the eldest member of the court, McComb was appointed by former Republican Governor Goodwin Knight, Brown's predecessor. He often has been the lone dissenter in major court decisions. He has little to say during the argument of cases, and not much more in his written dissents, usually just the two words: "I dissent."

Justice Burke. Although identified as a conservative in matters of law, the 68-year-old Burke has appeared on the "liberal" side of important issues, among them the the court's controversial death-penalty decision. Some observers see Burke becoming more willing to assert the conservative viewpoint, however, since the arrival of Justice Clark. A city attorney for 19 years and then general counsel for the League of California Cities, Burke was appointed by Brown.

Justice Clark. The youngest member of the court at 42, Clark's appointment by Republican Governor Ronald Reagan, whom he once served, generated controversy. Though it is too soon to tell how effectively Clark will carry the conservative view on the court, he has been credited with providing the impetus for the revival of Burke's assertiveness.

Chief Justice Wright. Reagan's first appointment to the Supreme Court, the 67-year-old Wright has been something of a disappointment to the Governor. Heralded as a strict constructionist, Wright has established a decision pattern with a distinctly liberal and pragmatic flavor. His talent as a negotiator among the justices' varying viewpoints has led the court to a number of unanimous and near-unanimous decisions. His attitude toward the court's role was made clear in his response to an attorney who sought to assure the court that his cause was not revolutionary. "Don't worry," Wright interrupted, "we're not bashful here."

Justice Sullivan. Another Brown appointee, the 67-year-old Sullivan wrote what is regarded to be a brilliant decision in the *Serrano* school-finance case, but his reputation may have been wounded somewhat when his reasoning was rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court in a similar Texas case. Since then, some observers say, Sullivan seems less ready to throw down the gauntlet. With Wright, he remains a pivotal swing vote among the seven justices. He swung conservative recently in authoring an important welfare decision, a move said to have been particularly disappointing to Tobriner.

Mathew Tobriner | Stanley Mosk | Raymond Sullivan | Louis Burke | Marshall McComb

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How is Reagan's alter-ego making it on the Wright court?

By DENNIS CAMPBELL

William P. Clark Jr., associate justice of the California Supreme Court, rides the bus a lot these days, commuting between his chambers in San Francisco and his ranch near San Luis Obispo. It is a handy way to travel, explains Clark, because it gives him several uninterrupted hours to do some reading and legal drafting. Now, if the back of a Greyhound bus seems an unlikely workshop for one of California's seven most important jurists, there are also those who consider Clark an unlikely member of the Supreme Court. The one-time executive secretary to Governor Reagan ascended to the high court amid perhaps the bitterest and most public debate to surround a California judicial appointment. The focal point of the argument against Clark was that, although he had served briefly as a judge in superior and appellate courts, his lack of a law degree made him unworthy of a court whose traditions have won it the respect of legal scholars and judicial activists. But the real target of many of Clark's critics may also have been his record of conservatism as much as his lack of record in academia.

Reagan's choice

Clark may not have graduated from law school, but he did pass the State Bar examination, and he opened a law office in Oxnard in 1958. Eight years later, he acquired a 900-acre grain and cattle ranch in San Luis Obispo County and was selected by Reagan to be the Governor's first cabinet secretary. Clark's involvement in the state's first Republican administration in eight years might have surprised those who knew his family in Ventura County. For three generations, the Clark family had been active in the Democratic Party. Clark, uncomfortable with the directions of that party, switched to Republican in the early 1960s.

Clark became Reagan's executive secretary in 1967, and two years later the Governor appointed him to San Luis Obispo County Superior Court. About 200 trials later, in August 1971, Clark was elevated to the Court of Appeal in Los Angeles.

That was Clark's judicial record submitted to the Commission on Judicial Appointments last year when it considered Clark's nomination to the Supreme Court. The commission members were Chief Justice Donald Wright, Attorney General Evelle Younger and Appellate Court Justice Parker Wood. They heard nearly three hours of testimony concerning Clark's legal background and examined a State Bar report on its investigation of his 19 months as an appellate court judge. Critics branded Clark as "undistinguished". Supporters portrayed him as a man with "a good legal mind", a judge with great patience and even temperament who was "fair and open-minded". The State Bar concluded that ". . . we find nothing that would disqualify him from consideration . . . for confirmation . . . , but [we] express no opinion as to his qualifications to serve."

When it was over, the commission confirmed Clark's appointment by a 2-to-1 vote. The objector was Chief Justice Wright. It is not routine for a nominee to the Supreme Court to have his legal and personal linen hung on so public a clothesline. Nor is it usual for a newcomer to the Supreme Court to find the Chief Justice publicly recorded as opposed to his presence there.

Settling in

Clark recalls some feeling of trepidition about how the other justices — particularly Wright — might accept him, but he seems none the worse for wear and appears to have taken hold of his role on the court rather well. He has avoided press interviews, but has accepted a growing number of speaking engagements. It is difficult to tell, either from the way he writes opinions or wears his judicial robes, that he does not have a law degree.

More important, at least for the sake of the court's smooth functioning, Clark describes his relations with fellow justices as cordial. Though he was reported to lunch only rarely with his fellow justices (and then usually with Justice Marshall McComb), that did not signify a defective working relationship. "The justices really never get together socially, anyway," explained a court official, "except for having lunch from time to time." In any event, Clark has the look of one who is settling into a new job nicely. That he can feel comfortable on the court after so bumpy an ascendence is a tribute both to his temperament and to Wright's qualities of leadership.

Typical of court

That such a fuss should have been raised over Clark and been so quickly put aside fits the pattern for a court whose history is one of functioning efficiently under a frequently glaring public spotlight. The court, founded in the gold-rush days of 1849, caught the public eye early. (Justice David Terry, for example, marked the mid-point of his four years on the court by being convicted of stabbing a San Francisco vigilante. When the conviction was set aside in 1857, Terry became Chief Justice and went on to kill U.S. Senator David Broderick in a duel.) The court has held public attention in subsequent years by taking often strong and sometimes unpopular positions on important legal issues. Along the way, the court has not lost its capacity for human

The author, a law-school graduate and Sacramento newspaper reporter, covers state courts for the Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Donald Wright

William Clark

foibles. When the court was preparing to hand down its controversial decision on the death penalty, for example, Justice McComb — the lone voice of dissent in the 6-to-1 ruling against capital punishment — tipped the court's hand on a San Francisco television show. To say that the other justices were miffed over the episode is to understate their reaction. (Then there is a story concerning Justice Stanley Mosk that illustrates how effective lonely dissent can be. A journalist wanted a picture of the justices as they advanced together through the food line in the State Building cafeteria. Six justices thought the idea acceptable, but Mosk balked. Result: the journalist lost a 1-to-6 decision.)

Clark likens his position in all of this to that of the junior member of a law firm. The aptness of the analogy derives not only from time on the job but also from his relative youth; he is the junior of his court colleagues.

Consistent with his comparative youth, there is a certain boyishness about Clark's features and a conversational style reminiscent of, say, Walter Matthau. A wry sense of humor punctuates his stories — especially those he tells on himself. "When I was on the appellate court," he recalled in an interview, "I produced about 100 opinions a year. I knew the Supreme Court as a whole produced only about 140 opinions a year, so I figured I would have a lot more time to research and draft opinions than I ever did on the appellate court. Then I found out I was going to have three research attorneys and a law-school intern to help me. On the appellate court, I had just one assistant. I wondered how I was going to keep all these people busy." The answer was not long in coming. "We receive 60 to 80 petitions every week — a massive amount of material," he continued. "I discovered that we spend a great deal of our time just deciding what not to decide!"

June ballot measure analysis

The May *California Journal* will contain an eight-page special section analyzing the nine propositions on the June ballot. Reprints will be available by May 3rd. Orders for extra copies of the booklet should be made now to assure immediate delivery.

The rates are: Single copies, 50¢; 2-10 copies, 40¢; 11-50 copies, 30¢; and 51 or more copies, 20¢. Please add sales tax to all orders.

Address your request to Journal Ballot Booklet, 1617 10th Street, Sacramento, California 95814.

Clark maintains an apartment in San Francisco but does little work there. "I guess I spend most of my waking hours here in chambers. I work 12 or more hours a day," he said. That assessment is shared by others who have had occasion to observe the new justice.

It may be, of course, that a part of Clark's motivation is a touch of loneliness. He and his wife, Joan, have five children, ages 11 to 17. He comes from a background where close family ties are important — and wife and children now spend most weeks away from him on that ranch near San Luis Obispo. "I suppose the idea of keeping busy in San Francisco keeps me from missing my family too much," Clark said, "but I've always put in long hours. And this is a pretty fascinating job."

Clark's family remains in San Luis Obispo County not only to tend the ranch but because of what Clark describes as a "unanimous opinion that the kids finish school there." There is, however, a slow process of transition under way. Clark's eldest daughter will enroll at the University of California's Davis campus this year, and his wife is spending more time with him in San Francisco.

But, for the moment, Clark counts most on his job to keep him company in San Francisco. And there is, he learned, plenty to keep a new justice busy. ("They put me to work the minute I got here," he explained.)

Judicial reputation

After a year on the court, Clark's judicial stance remains to be precisely defined. He brings to the court a reputation for conservatism based on his appellate court record and association with the Reagan administration. The clerks of the Supreme Court refer to Clark as "the house conservative", but he's unsure how well that label fits. "I do have a conservative philosophy, but that kind of label may mean more to some people than it really should. I am a cautious person. I like to make sure I have a hold on a situation before I leap into it. In that sense, I am conservative."

Indeed, Clark's record on the appellate court, though conservative in thrust, is not without excursions into more liberal fields. While he frequently favored prosecution positions concerning the rights of criminal defendants, there were times when Clark came down strongly for individual rights against the government.

There is no doubt that Clark will appear more often on the conservative side of issues facing the court, but a year is too short to produce enough opinions to etch a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A tradition of revolution

The California Supreme Court has often broken new ground on tough and troublesome constitutional issues, and in doing so has forged a reputation as the nation's most aggressive and progressive state court. It has renewed the law in everything from criminal justice to product liability, frequently providing a preview of later action by the United States Supreme Court and at times seeming to spur congressional concern for the issues it tackles. Examples abound to justify the court's reputation for leadership, among them:

In re Hartman (1920). The California Supreme Court struck down a law that prohibited display or possession of the flags of organizations antagonistic to the Constitution or laws of the United States. The decision recognized that symbolic speech — as in the display of a flag — is protected by the Constitution. The U.S. Supreme Court followed a similar theory 10 years later and reaffirmed that reasoning again in cases in 1943 and 1969.

Perez v. Sharp (1948). The California Supreme Court declared unconstitutional a law prohibiting interracial marriage. In 1967, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that all anti-miscegenation laws violate the equal-protection and due-process clauses of the Constitution.

Fujii v. State (1952). The California court overturned the State Alien Land Law, which provided that, with certain limited exceptions, aliens ineligible for citizenship could not acquire land in California. The court reasoned that federal citizenship requirements operated in concert with the California law as an instrument of racial discrimination. Two months after the court's decision, Congress enacted a statute declaring that citizenship cannot be denied or abridged because of race.

Mulkey v. Reitman (1966). The California court invalidated Proposition 14, which gave California property-owners absolute discretion in choosing among prospective buyers and renters. The court said that Proposition 14 violated the equal-protection clause because it encouraged racial discrimination. A year later, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the California decision.

Serrano v. Priest (1971). The California court decided that the state's system for financing public schools, because of its dependence on property taxes and the resultant disparities in district school revenue, violated the state and federal constitutions. Several courts in other states followed the rationale of the California decision before it was rejected in a Texas case by the U.S. Supreme Court. Because it was based on the California Constitution as well as the federal, however, *Serrano* retains its vitality in California.

People v. Anderson (1972). The California court struck down the death penalty on the ground it violated the state Constitution. Capital punishment has been restored in California as the result of a constitutional amendment, but the California decision is believed by many to have influenced the U.S. Supreme Court when it invalidated the application of the death penalty in cases later that year.

clear public record. And the court has had a rather quiet year at that after having dealt with such stormy issues as the death penalty, school financing, bottomless and topless dancing, and abortion just prior to Clark's arrival. Further, a court observer will learn little from attending sessions. "I don't ask questions of counsel during the arguing of cases," he said. "I'd rather sit and listen."

Clark has been characterized as an introvert. (There has been the suggestion that, when he lunches with Justice McComb — whose reputation for silence is paramount -- perhaps not a word passes between them. Clark admits, too, that he says very little when the justices meet in conference to discuss a case. "I think that by being economical with my words I perhaps can be more effective when I do speak," he suggested.

Effect on court

Clark's presence on the court has been credited with encouraging Justice Louis Burke to play a more vocal role. Burke is regarded by some as a conservative, although other court insiders think of him as merely pragmatic. Whatever the label, Clark finds Burke a kindred spirit. But beyond the effect on Burke, the court seems little changed. Says Anthony Kennedy, professor of constitutional law at University of the Pacific's McGeorge School of Law in Sacramento: "The court retains its reputation for independence and activism. Justice Clark hasn't really been on the court long enough [to allow us] to assess his impact, but I think it is difficult to detect any kind of trend on the court that might be traced to a new personality on the bench."

Clark has a special incentive to develop a pattern of opinion that reflects care and precision. In casting his vote against Clark's fitness to sit on the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Wright explained: "As of now, he is not qualified by education, training and experience to be confirmed as associate justice of the Supreme Court. I sincerely hope that I will be proved wrong . . . ." At the time of appointment, Reagan predicted that Clark would turn out to be his wisest judicial appointment.

The jury is still out on the assessments made by Wright and Reagan. But someday, somewhere on the bus between San Francisco and San Luis Obispo, William Clark may be drafting an opinion that will help decide whether the Chief Justice or the Governor was right.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California NEWSBRIEFS

Some bosses can hold workers 10 hours before paying overtime

The California Industrial Welfare Commission ruled last month that workers in certain fields can be required to work 10 hours a day before overtime rates take effect. However, overtime must be paid after the 40th hour in a week.

The order, which takes effect in June, applies to manufacturing, personal services, professional, technical, clerical and mechanical work, public housekeeping, laundry and linen-supply, dry-cleaning and dyeing, mercantile trades, transportation, amusements, recreation and broadcasting. The eight-hour normal day was generally retained, however, for workers in motion pictures and in the canning, freezing and preserving industry. Minors under 18 are limited to eight-hour days, and cannot work before 5 a.m. or after 10 p.m. Since 1916, women had enjoyed protective legislation governing hours, overtime and work conditions.

Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti criticized the commission on this point for acting counter to what he called the Legislature's intent in its ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment that protective legislation be extended to men in the name of equality. "Instead of bringing men in under the protective umbrella," he said, "they threw women and children out."

Reagan consolidates two special elections with June primary

Special elections to fill congressional and state Senate vacancies will be merged with the June 4th primary election. Should no candidate obtain a majority, runoff elections would be held July 2nd. By selecting the primary date, Governor Reagan may have saved the state some money, but he also reduced the Republican Party's chance for victory, because the GOP usually fares better than the Democrats in special elections, when voter turnout is light.

The vacancies occurred through the appointment of Republican Representative William S. Mailliard of San Francisco as ambassador to the Organization of American States and the election of GOP state Senator Robert J. Lagomarsino of Ojai to Congress.

Lagomarsino captures Teague's seat in supposed test of Nixon popularity

Republican state Senator Robert J. Lagomarsino, 47, won the congressional seat of the late Representative Charles M. Teague, also a Republican, in a special election March 5th in Santa Barbara and Ventura counties. The election was billed nationally as a test of popularity for President Nixon, and both parties had reason to cheer the outcome. For the Republicans, it provided the first victory in a congressional election this year against three losses. For the Democrats, the statistics showed that the Nixon issue apparently cut Lagomarsino's margin measurably.

The results: Lagomarsino 53,078 votes, or 53.2 percent of the total. Seven Democrats 46,627, or 36.8 percent. (The high Democrat was Ojai Mayor James Loebl with 18,791 votes.) In prior elections in the same area, Nixon, Teague and Lagomarsino had run up a string of victories by margins of better than two-to-one. Lagomarsino himself conceded that the Nixon issue probably cost him 10 percent. But the statistics would indicate that he normally could have expected to do about 20 percent better.

Senators gag over ratings of lawmakers by some of their aides

Assemblymen may have choked in private rage, but Senators gagged in public after the *San Francisco Examiner* published a rating by some legislative aides of their bosses. Correspondent Dennis Opatrny had asked 33 staff aides and committee consultants to pick the three smartest lawmakers and the three least smart, the three most effective and the three least, the three most principled and the three least bothered by probity. The story may well not have gone beyond the February 24th editions of the *Examiner* had the Senators not picked it up. After a closed-door meeting, Senate President pro Tem James Mills reported: "The members considered it highly inappropriate that the staff should be judging who is the stupidest, most intelligent, most effective and least effective." Those who did — and Opatrny wasn't naming names — would be entitled, suggested Mills, to a "severe reprimand". If it happened again, he warned, it would be grounds for dismissal.

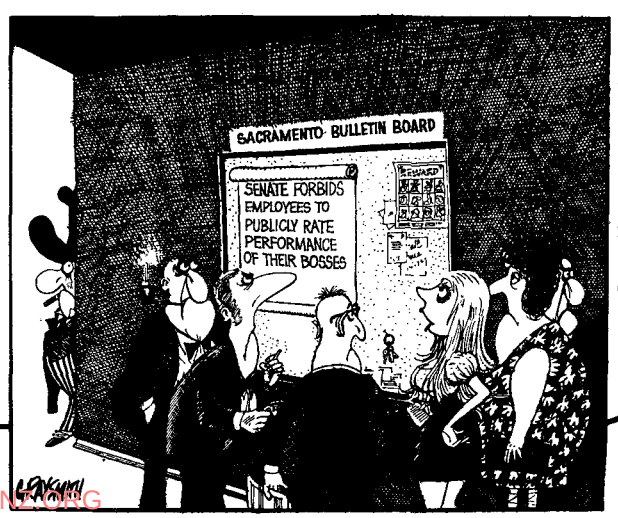
That said, the wire services had to answer the queries of their client papers around the state. So the Senators managed to assure broad coverage of Opatrny's opinion poll, the findings of which follow:

SENATE

Smartest: Anthony Beilenson, George Moscone and Peter Behr (tied), and Fred Marler. Least smart: James Q. Wedworth (unanimous), Lawrence Walsh and Lou Cusanovich. Most effective: Randolph Collier, Beilenson and Moscone. Least effective: Wedworth; H. L. Richardson, Alan Robbins, David Roberti, Walsh and Cusanovich (five-way tie); and Nicholas Petris, Jack Schrade and Robert Stevens (three-way tie). Most principled: Albert Rodda, Clark Bradley, and Beilenson and Richardson (tie). Least principled: Walsh, Schrade, and Collier and Wedworth (tie).

ASSEMBLY

Smartest: Willie Brown, Charles Warren, and John Knox and Alan Sieroty (tie). Least smart: Don MacGillivray, Alex Garcia, and Floyd Wakefield and John Thurman (tie). Most effective: Bob Moretti, Brown and Knox. Least effective: Wakefield, March Fong, and MacGillivray and Garcia (tie). Most principled: Sieroty, John Vasconcellos and Leo McCarthy. Least principled: Walter Karabian, Wadie P. Deddeh, and Ken Cory and Walter Powers (tie).


SACRAMENTO BULLETIN BOARD
SENATE FORBIDS EMPLOYEES TO PUBLICLY RATE PERFORMANCE OF THEIR BOSSES
Graysmith, San Francisco Chronicle

"Well, they have a point . . . The people get enough depressing

LICENSED TO UNKNOWN
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Protest over utility rates:

- *Do poor subsidize the rich?*
- *Should peak usage cost more?*
- *Should rates be adjusted by region?*
- *Is the PUC equipped to set charges?*

By MARY ELLEN LEARY

The shock California householders have suffered from increases in utility rates through 1973, coupled with the new public sensitivity to energy problems as a result of the gasoline shortage, have sparked a consumer protest movement that promises to be one of the political surprises of this year. Never in the memory of California Public Utilities Commission officials has there been so much public outrage over utility rates — a reaction occasioned, for instance, by 11 successive increases in Pacific Gas and Electric rates alone in the past 14 months. But then never before in public utility history in the United States has there been a sequence of rising production costs comparable to today's. We have entered a new era. Southern California Edison rates have gone up roughly half a billion dollars since January 1973. Pacific Gas and Electric rates in the same period have risen over a third of a billion dollars for fuel costs alone. Further PG&E applications pending before the PUC could mean that gas and electricity rate-payers in Northern California would have to absorb — since January 1973 — more than three-quarters of a billion dollars in new charges ($783 million).

New cause

As a result, coalitions of protest have been forming among diverse groups — environmentalists, elderly pensioners, church organizations, university economists, welfare-rights advocates and minorities. Labor, not yet committing itself to total immersion in the question, is a supportive observer and in various ways a participant in the growing movement. New organizations with provocative names or acronyms have been formed, such as TURN, for Toward Utility Rate Normalization, or Electricity and Gas for People which advocates "turning PG&E around" and makes its point by calling itself E&GP. Alinsky apostles are out to use his community-organizing style to develop "utility-users' action councils". "Citizen energy conferences" are being programmed for coming months. Electricity and gas rates have become a new cause for political action.

Not all of these pressure blocs seek the same outcome. Sheer outrage at the rapid rise in rates (in a region that has enjoyed low power costs) motivates the majority. They want it stopped, period. Environmentalists in this issue (Sierra Club and many others are deeply involved in the utility-rate challenge) look to the pollution implications of continually expanded power plants, particularly expanded nuclear generation. Others are alarmed over depletion of natural resources, and want growth curbed. Some consider the utilities a vulnerable symbol of corporate dominance in American society, and aim to redistribute more democratically the decision-making authority in planning future industrial expansion and population location, which are implicit in utility projections. Energy-demand figures appear, to many, to be unilateral corporate decisions shaping the future primarily to maximize profits. Others are moved by compassion for the low-income family suffering, in the price hikes, one more inflationary bite out of an inadequate dole.

The coalition aim is not merely to resist the large rate increases, such as that in the current application of PG&E for a general increase of $233 million to take effect in 1975. That plan has touched off a large outcry: Hearings have been jammed. The heaviest protest mail in PUC history is pouring in. Petitions are being circulated. Objections are intensely serious.

Beyond resistance to increases per se, the consumer spokesmen are out to challenge the historic structure on which the rates are fixed, to probe the fairness of long-accepted rate practices and to question the propriety of the growth expectations the utilities project into the next decade. Issues being raised represent the most serious call for re-examination of basic policies in electric-power rate-setting that has been generated in the public arena for more than half a century.

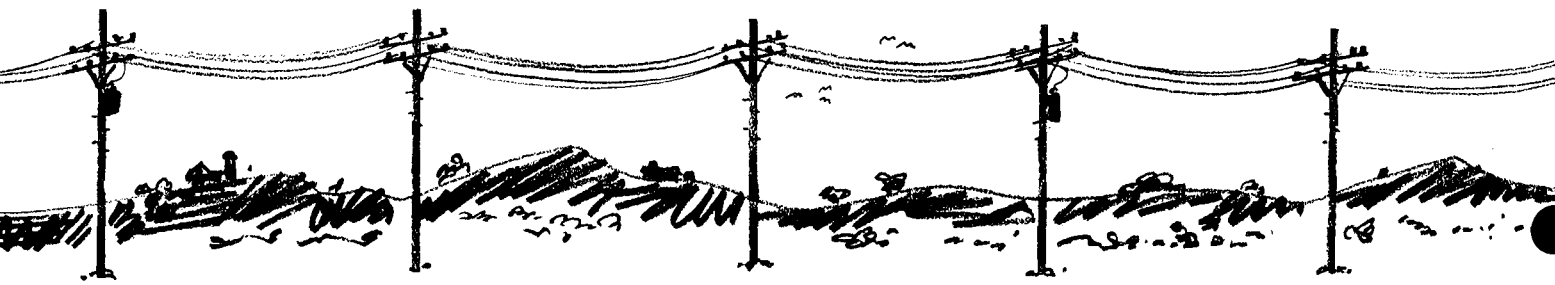
This is an audacious undertaking. It plunges the public into a field of specialization customarily considered too complex for anyone to understand except highly paid corporation experts, a few utility lawyers and the rate-engineers on the staff of the California Public Utilities Commission. It opens up for public discussion traditional pricing practices in the utility field that the layman has been persuaded in the past to leave to the experts. These matters are far more complex than whether advertising is a proper charge to the ratepayer, or legislative representation, or payments into United Crusade. Consumers have taken some effective cuts at these latter issues in recent years.

But what makes it possible now to venture into challenging the design of rates, the exponential growth

---

Mary Ellen Leary, a free-lance writer based in the San Francisco Bay Area, formerly served as West Coast correspondent for the Scripps-Howard Newspapers and as political editor and associate editor of the old San Francisco News. *Her articles appear in the London* Economist. Atlantic *and other magazines.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



of demand, the "declining block" rate structures, the appropriate levels for customer, energy and capacity components within the rate structure — all this mystifying technical jargon common to the utility world — is because rate specialists and economists have been plowing this field on behalf of consumer interests in many other states. A considerable literature is accumulating on the consumer's side; it raises uncomfortable questions within the dignified hush of the utilities' corporate headquarters, which have been accustomed to a half-century of willing compliance. Some of these questions:

- Do the poor now subsidize the rich in utility rates because the electricity bills for small users are pegged at a higher per-kilowatt rate than the households of large users have to pay?
- Are the rich — whose ample suburban homes use vast quantities of power to climatize their houses, heat their swimming pools, and run multiple television and stereo sets and a multitude of other electric appliances — getting electricity at bargain prices?
- Does the telephone company's "life-line" service, which gives the low-incomed family a chance to have a telephone for limited use at a minimal cost, suggest that electricity also might be supplied at a minimal base rate for very low users?
- Are customary pricing practices — setting the charge according to usage-blocks so that those using the largest amount pay the least per kilowatt hour, and those using the least pay the most per kilowatt hour — a relic of the time when power companies had excess capacity? With resources limited, should rate blocks be inverted to discourage power extravagance among large users?
- Should rates be adjusted by region? (Does the fog-cooled San Francisco household pay in part for the power poured into air-conditioners in the Central Valley each summer — because the peak capacity utilities must build to meet is set, these days, by the huge summertime demand for electricity in air-conditioning time?)
- Since peak-usage is the critical factor in the electric power needs, wouldn't it make sense to charge more for use of energy at peak demand hours or peak demand seasons, and encourage a spread in that peak by lower rates for people who don't use power at that time? (Such a pricing pattern is followed by France, where the utilities are owned by the government.)
- Is the PUC equipped to examine broad implications of utility rates when its staff roster lacks even one economist?
- Do investor-owned utilities push continually for ever-expanding plant capacity and project ever-growing power demands (even amidst declining population rates) primarily because their allowed rate of return is based on their investment in plant and equipment rather than efficiency of operation?
- Can we keep on doubling electrical generating capacity every 10 years indefinitely without putting critical demands on the environment, and shouldn't such questions as environmental, social and economic impact be brought into the rate-fixing arena?

These are pretty searching challenges in an area not customarily invaded by public inquiry. The answers are not easy to find. They propose investigations new to utility regulatory bodies.

California's lag

But these and other questions related to them are getting asked by consumer representatives now in California. And they have been asked before state commissions in New York, Michigan, Oregon, Maryland, Washington, D.C., and Vermont. In fact, in these places, such questions have led to fundamental shifts being ordered in the way rates are designed. These states are ahead of California in confronting energy issues in the context of an energy shortage and emerging new attitudes about environmental protection.

Determining how to set rates that will properly encourage a utility company to meet its service obligations, keep ahead of rising demand and stay afloat financially, and at the same time charge every customer evenly, is not an easy balancing act. And the utility companies, like everyone else, have been hounded by rising fuel costs, inflationary construction costs and salary demands. In fact, some have been particularly hard hit by the oil crunch. The Los Angeles Department of Water and Power used to get fuel at $2 a barrel; now it is paying $25 a barrel and up. As consumer protest escalates, it is clear that rate-setting is moving into an even more bewildering complexity.

Long stability

What aggravates public dismay is that utility rates have been almost nominal for a long period. Households were not prepared for a blow from this direction, especially in California. For 12 years, from 1958-1970, PG&E did not get a single increase. (In fact, its customers enjoyed a rate refund.) Since the end of World War I, utility companies throughout the U.S. have been reaping great benefits from technological improvements and expanding size, so that they have produced more and more power at steadily lower cost per kilowatt.

California's rates have also stayed low through widespread use of that inexpensive energy source, falling water. And the private company rates have been compelled to pace themselves by comparison with public power rates in the immediate area. But the era of relatively inexpensive expansion, technological breakthroughs and lowered unit cost has come to an end. Even the protest organizations acknowledge this.

'Heat or eat'

A catalyst because she was far ahead of others in this field is Sylvia M. Siegel, executive director of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TURN, which is headquartered in San Francisco. Siegel, a long-time representative of the Consumer Federation of California, is now a leader in building a coalition on the strategy with which to combat the PG&E rate increase. "It used to be hard to organize people around utility questions," she said. "But now, at last, the middle class is getting interested along with the poor. They are beginning to see that even for the relatively comfortable family gas and electricity is taking away money from the budget that used to be available for food. They cut down electricity and gas usage 10 or 15 percent, and find the next month's bill is higher than the last. People are getting angry."

First victory

TURN considers that it has already saved money for rate-payers. Last fall, when Southern California Edison sought a $271 million fuel-adjustment increase, TURN formally protested. The company had only shortly before received an $89 million general rate increase. For that, there was a public hearing. But the frequency of applications from utilities all over the state, seeking approval for increases to off-set fuel price rises, led the PUC last year to adopt a simplified procedure in such cases. The members voted to accept a letter of "advice" from the utility, let the staff verify its facts, and agreed then to approve fuel off-sets.

Siegel disapproves of a system that passes through such costs without public hearings, but particularly when the proposals reach the magnitude of a quarter-billion-dollars. TURN's protest at that particular proposal, she thinks, accounts for the fact that the PUC trimmed back the Southern California Edison fuel off-set to $250 million.

But TURN is only one consumer organization. James Cherry, a young attorney skilled in utility rates, heads San Francisco Consumer Action, another protest group. The Environmental Defense Fund is involved. In Los Angeles, there are many groups. Old-age pensioners and welfare organizations have brought their members into common planning.

On March 20th, some 50 members of the Committee Against the Energy Freeze picketed the Piedmont home of PUC Commissioner John P. Vukasin, while delivering a petition signed by 4000, denouncing utility price increases.

Michael J. Miller, San Francisco State University professor who set up the Mission Coalition Organization, the Coalition for Effective Schools and other successful action movements, founded E&GP (Electricity and Gas for People) with Episcopal minister Barry Blum as East Bay leader. It is swamped with volunteers, inquiries and public interest. It has developed a large letter-writing and postcard-of-protest drive to urge the PUC to deny the rate increase, "so we can make the PG&E fight oil-company price increases instead of passing them on to us." It also asks a low basic "lifeline" utility rate for low-income and fixed-income citizens. A number of activist clergymen in Northern California have made E&GP the focal point for their efforts to help low-income people.

What these people seek is a new approach by the PUC. They would open up utility-rate adjustments to the broad area of concerns implied in the questions they are raising. They want the commission to probe deeply for a quality of "fairness" in rates that will be freshly established — not the time-encrusted, traditional patterns that grew out of early railroad-rate litigation. It is not easy, however, to escape a system weighted with decades of legal interpretation. Nor is it easy to jar the present commissioners into support. PUC spokesman Eugene Raleigh says the commission recognizes that study of the rate structure is needed in view of changing times, but it is not yet ready.

Emery Troxel, author of *Economics of Public Utilities,* whose views were important in recent rate hearings in Michigan, said: "Promotional pricing is a discriminatory form of pricing that the companies try to cover up with rationalized cost of services." The hope is that the PUC will look into "cost of services" from a new point of view, one not keyed to promotional usage-blocks. The companies contend that their rates do indeed reflect costs in a proper distribution. "The formulas by which utility rates are set have been around for a long time," said Dr. Marc Roberts, an associate professor of economics at Harvard University and a utility-rate expert who is currently a visiting professor at Stanford. "They are accepted without much thought about their implications."

Los Angeles city officials were astonished to discover, in studies relating to their winter-time power crisis, "that the declining block structure has prevailed unquestioned for over thirty years."

"Regulatory agencies in many states are trying to inject energy conservation into utility thinking," said Tom Graf, attorney with the Environmental Defense Fund. "They are trying to dampen the need for more plant. This is what we will work for. But it would not be honest to say we expect results from this commission. I'm not defeatist, but prospects with this commission look dim." The present PUC is more secretive, more indifferent to staff work and more allied to industry viewpoint than any since the 1912 period of reform in California's rate regulation. It has not encouraged pride or confidence within its own staff. It has not exhibited innovation in its own approach to any regulatory matter, nor a sensitivity to consumer interests.

Nevertheless, PUC staff people at work on the present rate questions do say that altered energy conditions,

1. HOT ELECTRICITY 60 seconds

Audio

Man (to camera): Hey you. Come here, come here. I want to talk to you.

I got a hot little deal for you. Some electricity. Yeah? Sure, sure, there's an energy crisis—well, don't worry about it. Just tell me what you need. Like ya need a thousand kilowatt hours a week? I can get you a good price on that. You need 2,000 . . . .? No problem. See, here's the deal: **the more you use, the less you pay.** No kidding!

Announcer (VO): The power companies tell the small residential users to conserve. But their rates tell the big industrial users to use more. Seems like a strange way to do business at a time when the world is running out of energy.

Man (to camera): You want 5,000 kilowatt hours a week? Oh, well now, I can get you a deal on that. Wow, I can get you a deal on that that you just won't believe. Believe me.

Television commercials like this are being offered to stations by Public Interest Communications of San Francisco. The advertising campaign is entitled "The other side of the energy crisis."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

inflation and the challenges raised in other state hearings (as well as those forcefully presented here) tend to bring new considerations into their own concepts. "This amount of consumer interest is a new phenomenon," said Robert Baer, PUC staff counsel on the PG&E case. "Some people think commission policy has changed since the seventies to favor the utilities, but it hasn't. The new factor is the high costs the utilities face from inflation and from oil prices."

Donald L. Houck, utility-rate analyst for the PUC, confirmed that many of the issues being raised will be taken seriously by the staff and probably have a bearing on its recommendations. It may shift the burden of utility costs a bit, but it is not going to decrease that burden, PUC staff members feel.

Utility views

Kenneth Mellor, executive assistant at Sacramento Municipal Utility District, said that the agency "looks constantly, over and over, at the costs allocated to each customer. We are not out to make big profits by selling more power. We can look at the situation objectively, and we do. From the cost standpoint, we think it is proper to charge large users less and small users more. Small users cost us more. But our board undergoes the same pressures and arguments other utilities get from energy conservationists and from economists convinced that low-paying large consumers are not carrying their fare share of plant expansion. As a result of this political climate, we have begun to shade our rate increases, to flatten out the difference between blocks. In recent changes, some customers got a four percent rate increase; some got 14 percent. But we won't make drastic changes. We are not about to invert our blocks. As for using our rate structure to cushion costs for the poor — we don't consider that responsibility lies with a utility."

PG&E officials strongly oppose any drastic or sudden shift. They feel that inverting blocks, so that heavy users pay the largest rate, would bring about serious inequities. Many customers who are not in the high-income bracket are compelled to be heavy electricity users, they say.

It is evident, however, that PG&E officials recognize the pressure for change in utility pricing and the new directions set by other state regulatory bodies, even though in his recent testimony William Gallavan, the company's rate expert, scoffed at "experiments". The company in its current schedule — to which fuel increases have since been added — imposes a minimal 50¢ customer charge on all users, and then prices its electricity in addition according to blocks, such as these in the San Francisco rate plan:

First 50 kilowatt hours, per kilowatt	.04029¢
Next 100 kwhr, per kwhr	.01829¢
Next 100 kwhr, per kwhr	.01629¢
Next 700 kwhr, per kwhr	.01529¢
Next 1,000 kwhr, per kwhr	.01329¢

This is what critics call the "promotional block" structure, which encourages usage and allegedly "rewards" large energy consumption. PG&E insists that it has allocated charges on the basis of the costs it incurs, that early rates represent basic costs of getting service to a customer and that costs decline sharply once that is achieved and volume increases. Over the past year, however, each successive fuel-cost adjustment has been distributed across the board. The effect is to slim down block differences.

In its new application, PG&E proposes adding a flat .0371¢ on each block of users, which would further reduce differences. Consumer spokesmen dismiss this step as trifling and unsatisfactory. They consider that the real push to "promote" power usage has not been abandoned, and that a conservation priority has not yet moved into prominence in utility calculations. On the other hand, many Californians, in labor as well as in business, are very wary of emphasis on power conservation lest it impede the growth of employment.

The consumer groups particularly criticize PG&E new-plant construction projections. The application for a $233-million-dollar increase in rates starting in 1975 would expand the company's present $4.2 billion plant and equipment by $1.8 billion with "literally hundreds" of construction projects. On this, it seeks an 8.9 percent rate of return. Consumers challenge both this rate of return and the projected "demand", and claim a utility conjures up "demand" when it produces "capacity".

Aware of the multiple interests converging on utility rates, PG&E has commenced a number of pertinent studies. Lee Gardiner, in the company's rate section, pointed out that PG&E has undertaken one test by which recording meters have been installed for a spot survey of various types of customers, to keep a tape record on the hourly, daily and seasonal fluctuations in usage. A total new metering system would be expensive. But the utility is at least trying to get a more accurate understanding of who uses eletricity at various "peaks", should the PUC ever decide that "peak" usage be charged in accordance with the financial burden peak demand represents. Such an adjustment is one major consumer proposal, for "peak" need is the measure for system expansion.

In addition, PG&E is studying electricity usage in low-income urban areas, selected from census income reports. This study, begun last August and not yet complete, brought reports of surprisingly high-volume electricity usage among the very poor in the San Francisco Bay Area. Some observers theorized that badly insulated housing may have necessitated greater-than-normal heating costs; and that a crowded house, with more people per room, has greater energy need.

But Gardiner reflected the fact that there has been some serious thought within PG&E about ways to boost entry-block utility rates without penalizing the poor, when he raised the possibility that such an essential might be paid for by "power stamps", comparable to "food stamps". This would shift the subsidy to taxes, rather than to other rate-payers, but he pointed out that PG&E is not equipped to identify customers who might be entitled to a subsidy.

Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, forced to bring that city to a drastic reduction in energy usage this past winter when its fuel supply for electrical generation fell short by almost half, is now deeply concerned with the implications of an electrical rate structure so long unchanged. Speaking for the Mayor, his executive assistant, Norman Emerson, said the Los Angeles power shortage makes it necessary "to re-examine factors we have taken for granted."

Coming successfully through a grim ordeal, when Los Angeles considered rolling blackouts might have been necessary, and a 50-hour per week limit to business operations might have been ordered, Mayor Bradley now is committed to introducing the concept of conservation into electrical rate structures.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'Mr. San Diego'

The decline and fall of C. Arnholt Smith

BY HERBERT W. LOCKWOOD

Since 1769, when it was the leading Spanish settlement in what is today California, San Diego hadn't chalked up a really rousing first — not even a Republican national convention -- until last year when one man, financier C. Arnholt Smith, made up for the years of neglected newsworthiness. With a bang heard all the way to Zurich, his billion-dollar United States National Bank was declared insolvent. It was the largest single bank failure in the history of the country, and it came at a time of general national prosperity. To shore up the sagging financial structure of the bank, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation had to shell out the largest sum it had ever paid, $208 million. The Internal Revenue Service slapped a claim against Smith of $22.8 million, the largest in its history, and added a jeopardy assessment — an action taken only if the IRS feels uneasy about the taxpayer's future accessibility. Smith and his associates were also accused of fraud, among other things, in connection with manipulations of the huge Westgate-California Corporation.

While such revelations have inspired a certain amount of wonder and a good deal of condemnation, there also seems to be an undercurrent of admiration inspired by Smith's sheer bravado. One of his acquaintances characterized Smith's performance as "the finest damned juggling act since W.C. Fields", and went on to explain: "As president of United States National Bank, he'd offer a multi-million-dollar loan to Westgate-California. Then he'd run around the desk and, as Westgate-California president, gratefully accept. He ran a beautiful corporate can of worms."

What happened to the man who was acclaimed not only as "Mr. San Diego", but as "Mr. San Diego of the Century"? What happened to the upward-and-onward Horatio Alger type who started out from nothing as a builder, then managed to tear down the immense empire he had erected? "I've known Arnie Smith for more than 30 years," an old gentleman told this writer recently. "Never once did he ever do anything the slightest bit unethical or dishonest." The same old gentleman lost his shirt in the failure of U.S. National.

How did that bank, the nation's 83rd largest, with nearly a billion dollars in deposits, collapse? The answer is locked in the mind of C. Arnholt Smith.

Roots of empire

Conrad Arnholt Smith was born April 10, 1899, in Walla Walla, Washington. That makes him 75 this month. His father is said to have been one John Smith, a carpenter, but the records here are pretty silent. His mother, Mary Barbara Smith, lived to a ripe old age, and her son built a chapel in the U.S. National Bank building to her memory. When little Conrad was seven, the family moved to San Diego. He entered San Diego High School in 1913. His grades were good, but he dropped out after a couple of years and went to work in a grocery store. Seeing little future in vending turnips, he went to work in a bank across the street. By 21, he appears in the San Diego City Directory as assistant teller at the Merchants National Bank while living chastely, like a Horatio Alger, at the local YMCA.

A natural banker, Smith went with the Bank of Italy (now Bank of America) and, in time, became its local manager. Although by now it was the depth of the Depression, Smith wanted a bank all his own, so he started looking around. He lit upon the slightly stunted United States National Bank, which had been started years before by San Diego Mayor Louis Wilde. The bank had only $300,000 in deposits, but appeared to be in fair shape; so, in 1933, Arnie made his move.

"Black Jack" Smith, his older brother, had struck it rich in both Los Angeles banking and the oil fields, and Arnie got him to invest in U.S. National, which was then run by James R. Russell, who became very fond of the bright young man and predicted that he'd go far. Within a couple of years, however, Russell found himself out on the sidewalk wondering what had hit him. He sued, but died before the case could be heard. That left Arnie Smith with a bank all his own.

Liberal lender

Politically conservative, he has always been liberal when it comes to lending — especially to himself. To drum up business for his tiny bank, he would stick out his financial neck and lend money to struggling enterprises, and most of his hunches have paid off. This left a residue of grateful businessmen in the San Diego area who will never forget the banker who took a chance on them way back when.

World War II made San Diego the headquarters of the fleet in the Pacific. There were 40,000 soldiers at Camp Callan, where the Torrey Pines Golf Course now stands, local plants were cranking out four-engined bombers, and drunken sailors were spending money like drunken sailors. Even an idiot banker could make money, and C. Arnholt Smith was no idiot.

The bank fattened and started to put out branches all over the county. Smith put out a few personal branches himself. While keeping himself well in the background, he

The author, a staff writer with the San Diego Daily Transcript, *is the author of two books on San Diego County history.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

initiated the policy of encouraging his young executives and friends to get on key commissions in local government, where they could swing a deciding vote whenever a customer of the bank, say, needed a friend.

Nixon supporter

He also moved quietly into Republican politics. Indeed, Smith bears a major responsibility for placing Richard Nixon in the White House. Smith has supported Nixon ever since the latter first ran for Congress, and has backed up a long personal friendship with injections of hard cash into Nixon's campaigns. He raised $1 million for Nixon's 1968 campaign — $250,000 of which was contributed by the banker personally. That activity won Smith a place around the select inner circle that watched the returns that year with the candidate in the Waldorf Towers. The Smiths earlier had headed a reception line for Nixon delegates in Miami Beach. "They were telling us that we would be their first guests in the White House," Mrs. Smith said later. Observed the President's wife: "Arnie Smith was one of our first supporters and loyal friends."

Yet, in 1972, Smith's substantial contribution was returned by the Committee to Reelect the President. The one-time friend had by then become an embarrassment.

Hedging the bets

Although he became a behind-the-scenes power in GOP politics in San Diego County — Republican country — Arnie Smith well knew that some Democrats were sufficiently dedicated to free enterprise to warrant his support. So he started hedging his political bets. One was on Bert Betts who, in 1958, was running for state Treasurer. Since the Treasurer places idle state funds with California banks to draw interest until needed, Smith hoped that Betts, if elected, might send a few dollars to U.S. National. Betts won and, no ingrate, deposited $15.6 million of State of California cash in U.S. National (quite a jump from the $813,000 deposited the year before). "He appreciated what we had done for him, and he reciprocated," Smith observed.

Most of Smith's power plays on the Democratic side were engineered through John Alessio, whose financial dealings eventually got him a prison term for tax evasion. Alessio first bowed his head before the financier in 1929 as he gave Smith's oxfords a high gloss. Taking a shine to the shoeblack, Smith fixed him up with a job in Tijuana, where Alessio rose like a rocket in the Banco del Pacifico, and eventually gained control of Agua Caliente Race Track. Alessio instituted a highly popular parlay called the 5-10 by which, in theory, a person picking winners in a five- or six-horse series could walk home with up to $90,000 for an afternoon's good guessing. Winners were widely publicized, and there were a lot of them — in fact, too many. (One Mexican groundskeeper, the story goes, "won" the 5-10 four times for a total approaching $200,000 — according to the press handouts — yet was still grooming the track.) The money that was not paid out apparently went into United States National Bank. (When Smith put together Westgate-California Corporation in 1960, he made John Alessio a director.) The cash supported various Alessio projects, the facelifting of the fine old Hotel del Coronado, the upgrading of the posh Kona Kai Club, and construction of the Fifth Avenue Financial Center, among other enterprises.

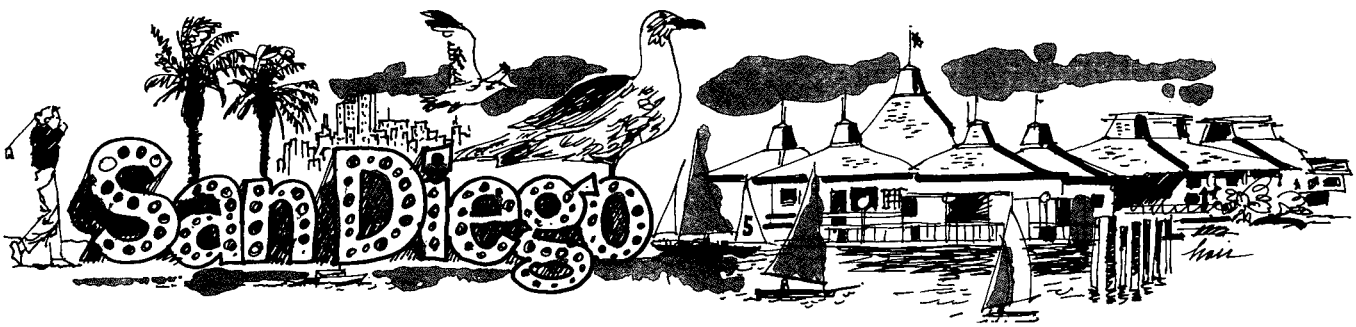
Alessio's fall

All seemed to be going fine, but John Alessio was living in La Mesa, a bedroom community just east of San Diego, making him a California resident and an American citizen. The Internal Revenue Service noted this, and claimed that he had, in one tax year, taken nearly a million dollars across the border and applied it tax-free to his varied enterprises in San Diego County. Smith sought President Nixon's intervention, but the President was familiar with the situation and declined to intervene.

Meanwhile, Smith was sitting on top of the heap. He was president of a large and growing bank. He headed up the $200 million Westgate-California Corporation. He was friendly with the President and the top national GOP establishment. His reputation in San Diego was beyond reproach; he had every honor the city could bestow.

Then trouble came in the form of a modest (for him) campaign contribution. A federal crime strike force landed on him in 1970 for a $2,068 contribution that the investigators believed had been strained through a company controlled by Smith to Nixon's 1968 campaign. While investigating the accounts of the Yellow Cab Company in San Diego, the agents turned up a payment of $2,068 to Barnes-Champ Advertising Agency, supposedly controlled by Smith, which Smith denied, to the surprise of San Diego's advertising set. It was carried on the company books as a business expense for a "wage and hour" survey. When a federal grand jury asked Barnes-Champ officers to explain the item, it turned out that no such survey had been made. The grand jury figured that the amount was simply a campaign contribution for the Nixon campaign run through the advertising agency as a business expense. This violated the Corrupt Practices Act, since a corporation may not contribute to any candidate for federal office.

Smith's political money-man was Frank A. Thornton, vice president of the agency. A subpoena was issued for Thornton to appear before the grand jury, but it was never served. It was stopped by Harry Steward, who was — and still is — the United States Attorney for the Southern District of California. (Steward, who was named to the job by Nixon, on Smith's recommendation, has worked closely in the past with Smith and Thornton as a Republican fundraiser.) Steward told the government investigators that Thornton, a close personal friend, had told him that the study for which the agency had collected the cash simply hadn't been done yet, but would be done right away. (Later, Steward said Thornton admitted that the payment had been improper and promised to return the money.)



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Meanwhile, IRS agents concluded that this small contribution was just one of many made illegally to GOP political campaigns.

Leading the investigation was a young IRS special agent named David Stutz, who was sure Smith and Thornton had dreamed up the scheme together. "Smith would have these bills paid, knowing them to be false and that the money would be used in political campaigns," Stutz reported. "The procedure would allow Smith to deduct political contributions by disguising them as business expenses, minimizing the economic impact to himself as well as allowing him to use corporate rather than personal funds. The use of false entries to avoid detection helped to accomplish these objectives."

Steward advised Stutz to lay off Barnes-Champ and told the latter it did not have to produce certain documents the IRS agent had demanded. Stutz went to the IRS intelligence chief in Los Angeles, who told him, after having investigated the matter personally, that the situation looked hopeless.

Charles Pratt, president of Yellow Cab of San Diego (one of the few Yellow Cab companies in California not then controlled by C. Arnholt Smith, although he did once hold an interest in it), decided to talk. He said Smith had invited him to a $2,000-a-couple dinner to raise funds for the Nixon campaign, and suggested that he have the taxi company pay for it by running the money through Barnes-Champ as a wage-and-hour survey.

Stutz then asked that the government go after Pratt, Smith and Thornton for making illegal campaign contributions, deducting these and preparing false tax returns. The IRS head in Los Angeles approved the requests and sent them on to Washington, where they disappeared.

The FBI thereupon investigated U.S. Attorney Steward's conduct in the matter, and concluded that he had perhaps been indiscreet. In February 1971, Deputy Attorney General Richard Kleindienst reviewed the matter, however, and cleared Stewart of any wrongdoing.

In the meantime, Yellow Cab's Pratt decided to seek a hefty rate increase to help increase profits. He went to work, and so did the San Diego County Grand Jury. On October 8, 1970, it indicted Mayor Frank Curran and all but one member of the City Council — who was leaving anyway — for accepting bribes in return for the rate increase, which an independent Los Angeles business consultant and the city attorney had both recommended be disapproved. Pratt testified that he had given Mayor Curran four checks totaling $3,500 in return for smoothing the way to approval, which was accomplished. IRS agent Stutz interviewed Curran, who confirmed payment, but during the trial IRS Commissioner Randolph Thrower ruled that Stutz couldn't testify unless the cab company and Pratt waived their legal protection restricting disclosure of federal tax information. The cab company declined. Curran was acquitted.

The next day, Curran, a Democrat, proudly related that President Nixon had telephoned him from the "Western White House" in San Clemente to congratulate him on the verdict.

Later it turned out that Frank Thornton, the GOP fundraiser, had served on Democrat Curran's campaign finance committee. He testified that Smith had arranged for the Barnes-Champ agency to carry most of Curran's $18,000 campaign deficit for almost two years.

As these political dealings surfaced, so did some of Smith's economic ploys. These did not square with the man's local reputation for probity. On April 16, 1969, the *Wall Street Journal* told how Smith and his associates profited by juggling transactions between Westgate-California and U.S. National, both of which were publicly

owned but controlled by Smith.

Founded in 1960 by Smith, Westgate is a conglomerate whose interests include the world's third largest packer of tuna (with a fishing fleet to do the catching), Yellow Cab franchises in a dozen California cities, the finest private club and the plushest hotel in San Diego — not to mention interests in real estate, ranching, insurance, Air California, fruit- and produce-packing, and a silver mine.

SEC looks in

The Securities and Exchange Commission didn't get around to acting until November 1971, when it found in its own files a report revealing that Westgate had been borrowing from U.S. National at a rate well above the legal minimum. Recalled Irving Pollack, SEC enforcement chief: "I remember looking at that annual report, at that pattern of self-dealing, and it was like somebody was saying, 'Hey, stupid! There's something going on here. Get going!'"

The SEC did get going and, 18 months later, it cited Westgate-California, its numerous subsidiaries, and Smith and his associates for violating the Security and Exchange Act. It charged that they "have been and are now employing devices, schemes and artifices to defraud, making untrue statements of material facts and omitting to state material facts . . . massive fraud . . . deceit . . . appropriation . . . converting assets."

The SEC said that Smith and his colleagues were on all sides of the transactions, "capitalizing on their positions as managers and controlling persons of U.S. National Bank and Westgate to systematically appropriate assets for their own benefit. To camouflage their fraudulent appropriations, they created ostensible profits for these entities."

While the SEC did not want to hurt Westgate, it did want to stop the abuses. So it insisted that the company get

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rid of Smith and Westgate's president, Philip Toft. Smith's attorneys, including members of Nixon's old New York law firm of Mudge, Rose, Guthrie, and Alexander, refused to comply. As the case dragged on, more facts percolated to the surface.

Finally, on August 3, 1973, the Internal Revenue Service presented the financier with the largest tax lien in its history, $22,833,933.02 for calendar year 1969. The lien was for approximately $19 million in income, the rest in interest.

A further blow was the character of the lien: a jeopardy assessment, used only when it is feared the taxpayer will leave the country or conceal himself, place his property beyond government reach or control, or become financially insolvent. Smith blew up. He said the lien had been filed without notice to him or to his tax attorney and without hearing. "This assessment by the IRS is another example of the continuous course of conduct by government bureaus to harass and intimidate me," he declared. "No such tax is due. I must be on someone's enemy list. I just can't believe it would happen in this country. Why in God's name wouldn't they follow the normal course and call me in and say, 'Hey, you owe X dollars in taxes. Here is the reason we think you do.'" Smith said the process "sounds like Czechoslovakia or Russia to me."

Evidently basing its case heavily on the SEC's findings, the IRS said in a letter to Smith: "It is determined that you pledged assets of Westgate-California and its subsidiaries as collateral for loans. The proceeds were not given to Westgate-California or its subsidiaries or reflected on their books or records. The proceeds from the loans remained under your exclusive control. Therefore, the total amount of the loan, $23,480,636, is determined to be income to you in 1969." The letter itemized other charges.

U.S. District Judge Leland C. Nielsen, who heard the SEC-Westgate case, admits to confusion. "The SEC says the profits were phony. The IRS says they were real. I think the two agencies should get together."

U.S. National falls

The jeopardy assessment was eventually removed and negotiations begun. Then, on October 18th, the really big blow came: U.S. National Bank was declared insolvent.

In fast action, Crocker National Bank bid and won the property for $84 million, and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation moved in as receiver. Depositors were safe because they were now depositors with Crocker National Bank, but holders of U.S. National Bank stock will have to wait until the FDIC determines what assets may remain.

This state of affairs disturbed a number of banks across the Atlantic, which had loaned Smith $90 million for Westgate. These loans were included in the "bad" loans assumed by the FDIC, and the European banks believe that these should have been included in the good loans assumed by Crocker. This matter, too, is under negotiation.

After the bankruptcy, Smith and Toft resigned from Westgate. A blue-ribbon board of directors tried to bring some kind of order out of the corporation's affairs, but late in February the corporation, too, went into bankruptcy — largely blaming the FDIC and IRS liens against its subsidiaries.

A federal grand jury is eyeing criminal charges against C. Arnholt Smith. San Diego's one-time "man of the century" no longer runs anything. Not that Smith seems unduly concerned. He looks healthy. He radiates the kind of confidence one associates with, well, a banker and pillar of the community.

It was said . . .

I'm deprived of my constitutional rights. I'm totally disenfranchised. I've been a law-abiding citizen of this state 19 years and I think I'm getting a raw deal.

. . . by former San Francisco State President S. I. Hayakawa, commenting on a 4-3 state Supreme Court ruling denying his petition to invalidate the state law requiring a candidate for partisan office to have been registered with a political party for at least one year before filing — in this case for U.S. Senator as a Republican who joined the party last August 31st.

It's just too bad we can't have an epidemic of botulism.

. . . by Governor Reagan, referring to the food-giveaway program exacted by the kidnappers of Patricia Hearst as a condition of her release, before a private luncheon of Republican congressional aides.

The limit should go back to 65 as soon as practical because that's what we designed the freeways for, but that's a political decision, up to the Legislature.

. . . by CHP Commissioner Walter Pudinski, in an interview with William Endicott of the Los Angeles Times.

A woman may use her maiden name whenever she chooses regardless of her marital status, with the exception that she cannot use her maiden name with intent to defraud. This includes the right to use her maiden name when registering to vote, applying for a driver's license, or attempting to obtain credit.

. . . by state Attorney General Evelle J. Younger, in answer to a query from state Senator Milton Marks.

One question . . . frequently asked is what [to] do if a terrorist group . . . kidnapped a member of the Legislature and demanded ransom. I respond to the question by asking who was kidnapped. Some legislators are worth a goodly amount of ransom. Others, well . . . .

. . . by state Senator Alfred H. Song, in a report to constituents.

Obviously, we are not going to assign women to our hottest unit, where we keep the toughest guys. However, there are some of our old-line officers now who will at least entertain the idea that a woman might have a calming influence.

. . . by corrections spokesman Philip Guthrie, reporting on the effect of the state's 44 female prison guards.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California Journal

PRIMARY ELECTION ANALYSIS

Complete list of candidates and their chances for victory

On June 4th, California voters will nominate candidates for Governor, U.S. Senator, six constitutional offices (Lieutenant Governor, Treasurer, Secretary of State, Attorney General, Controller, Superintendent of Public Instruction), the state Board of Equalization, 43 seats in the U.S House of Representatives and 100 seats in the state Legislature. (The nine propositions also on the ballot will be analyzed in a special report in the May Journal.) This report lists all candidates for these offices, draws attention to those races of special interest, and seeks to distinguish the major candidates from the minor.

Reprints available

Additional copies of this special report are available at the following rates: Single copies, 50¢; 2-10 copies, 40¢ each; 11-50 copies, 30¢ each; 51 or more copies, 20¢ each. Please add sales tax to all orders.

Write: California Journal Election Special, 1617 10th St., Sacramento 95814.

Governor

Republicans: State Controller Houston Flournoy, Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke, Glenn D. Mitchell of Pine Valley, William J. Nelson of Fair Oaks, J. F. Stay of Burbank, James A. Ware of Los Angeles.

Democrats: Secretary of State Edmund G. Brown Jr., Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti, Mayor Joseph Alioto of San Francisco, Representative Jerome Waldie of Antioch, Supervisor Baxter Ward of Los Angeles, University of California Regent William Matson Roth of San Francisco, state Senator James Wedworth of Hawthorne, Herbert Hafif of Claremont, John Abbot of Santa Clara, Alex Aloie of Los Angeles, Eileen Anderson of Beverly Hills, Joseph Brouillette of Citrus Heights, Raymond Chote of Mountain View, Chris Munsun of Los Angeles, Russ Priebe of Santa Monica, Josephum Ramos of Richmond, Conie Robertson of Weaverville, George Wagner of Lancaster.

American Independent: Edmon V. Kaiser of Fremont.

Peace and Freedom: Lester Higby of Chico, Elizabeth Keathley of Los Angeles, Trudy Saposhnek of North Hollywood, C. T. Weber of Signal Hill.

What a wonderful country, where with little effort anyone can run for Governor, and at least break into print. The voters will probably have no difficulty separating the ego-trippers from the legitimate candidates in the large field. The GOP primary is a two-man race between Flournoy and Reinecke. The Lieutenant Governor started the year far ahead of the Controller, but Reinecke's campaign has fallen apart and Flournoy has gained the backing of almost every big name and big bankroll in the party. Nevertheless, Reinecke remains popular with rank-and-file conservative Republicans, and the race should be close unless Reinecke becomes embroiled even deeper in the complex ITT controversy.

Among the Democrats, the situation is both simpler and more complex — simpler because Brown has been the runaway leader in the polls since the contest began, and more complex because there are so many substantial candidates attempting to cut him down. Moretti and Alioto have been the nearest contenders. The Speaker made a run for the lead with his active role in the campaign against Governor Reagan's 1973 tax initiative, and Alioto is expected to start spending money in big chunks to make his move. Waldie is hoping for Nixon impeachment publicity to shoot him to the front. Three of the others have major assets — Roth, his own cash; Hafif, speaking ability; Ward, the reputation as a maverick — but are not expected to get up with the leaders.

United States Senator

Democrats: Incumbent Alan Cranston, Howard L. Gifford of Patterson, Frank Kacsinta of Sun Valley.

Republicans: state Senator H. L. (Bill) Richardson of Arcadia, Earl Brian of Sacramento, Johnny Johnson of Tustin, William H. Reinholz of La Jolla, Thomas Malatesta of Los Angeles.

Peace and Freedom: Gayle Justice of San Jose; David Noble of Los Angeles.

American Independent: Jack McCoy of Carlsbad.

Cranston will have no problem in the primary from the two unknown challengers. The prime GOP contenders are Richardson, a conservative who wants felons to spend more time behind bars; Brian, a young physician who served as state Health and Welfare Secretary; and Johnson, a conservative black who held posts in both the Reagan and Nixon administrations. Richardson is the early leader in the polls, but his chances of defeating Cranston in November are considered slim. Republicans probably lost their strongest candidate, at least according to the polls, when S. I. Hayakawa, former president of San Francisco State University, was declared ineligible to run by the state Supreme Court because he had not been a Republican long enough.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lieutenant Governor

Republicans: state Senator John Harmer of Glendale, former Assemblyman John G. Veneman of San Francisco.
Democrats: state Senators Mervyn Dymally and Lawrence Walsh of Los Angeles, Howard Miller of Los Angeles, Robert Battin of Santa Ana, John A. Merlo of Chico, Elizabeth Weingand of Santa Barbara, Fidel Gonzalez Jr. of Westminster, Cy King of Redlands.
American Independent: Alberta Procell of Bakersfield.
Peace and Freedom: William Darling of Cornell, Marilyn Seals of Los Angeles.

Dymally and Miller, a professor who developed a name through his appearances on "The Advocates" public television program, are considered the main contenders for the Democratic nomination. But Battin, a supervisor; Merlo, long a party leader; Weingand, wife of a former state Senator; and Walsh, a conservative senator redistricted out of his seat, all may have important followings. The GOP primary is a clear-cut affair between the conservative Harmer and the moderate Veneman, former HEW undersecretary in Washington. Harmer benefits from talk among GOP leaders of a balanced Flournoy-Harmer ticket.

Secretary of State

Democrats: Assemblywoman March K. Fong of Oakland, Assemblyman Walter Karabian of Los Angeles, Herman Sillas of Los Angeles, Cathy O'Neill of Los Angeles, Bruce Brant of Hollywood, Robert Jordan of Saratoga.
Republicans: Brian Van Camp of Sacramento, Mike Montgomery of South Pasadena, Wendell Handy of Compton, James L. Shinn of Witter Springs, Bill Fonda of Pebble Beach.
Peace and Freedom: Israel Feuer of Los Angeles, Kay McGlachlin of Los Angeles.
American Independent: Charles Ripley of San Jose.

Incumbent Jerry Brown used the office to build himself into the present front-runner for Governor, making the once-sleepy office more desirable to others with political ambition. The Democratic race has four main contenders — Karabian, who has plenty of money, Fong and O'Neill, who are dividing the women's vote, and Sillas, long a Chicano spokesman. On the Republican side, the two prime candidates are Van Camp, until recently state Commissioner of Corporations, and Montgomery, a conservative city councilman. Shinn is Lake County clerk, and Handy has the experience of several prior races.

Controller

Republicans: Assemblyman William Bagley of San Rafael, James Flournoy of Los Angeles, Marian LaFollette of Encino.
Democrats: Assemblyman Ken Cory of Westminster, Supervisor Robert Mendelsohn of San Francisco, Ronald Brooks Cameron of Whittier, Bert Betts of Elverta, David Rees of Los Angeles.
American Independent: Kevin Scanlon of Arcadia.
Peace and Freedom: Bernard Klitzner of Signal Hill, Corey Cassanova of Whittier.

The Republican nomination figures to be a tight three-way race. Bagley has a strong moderate and northern base. Flournoy, unsuccessful GOP nominee for Secretary of State four years ago, has the advantage of having the same surname as the incumbent, Houston Flournoy. And LaFollette, a Los Angeles community college trustee, has a solid political base plus the advantage of being a woman. Mendelsohn started campaigning for the nomination long before the others, but he could be overtaken by Cory or Cameron, the Democratic nominee for Controller four years ago. Betts is a former state Treasurer whose political fortunes have gone downhill.

Treasurer

Republicans: John Kehoe of Sacramento, H. Stanley Jones of Inglewood, R. Cyril Kay of North Hollywood, Henry Quigley of Irvine.
Democrats: Jess Unruh of Los Angeles, Gray Davis of Los Angeles, state Senator Alan Short of Stockton, Charles C. Haskins of Sacramento, Eugene K. Beaumont of Los Angeles.
Peace and Freedom: James Stanbery of San Pedro.
American Independent: W. Wayne Fortner of El Monte.

The unexpected withdrawal of incumbent Ivy Baker Priest because of ill health has brought some unanticipated attention to this contest. Kehoe, former state director of consumer affairs, is the best-known GOP candidate. But Jones, Inglewood City Treasurer, will have a good ballot designation. The Democratic primary is already bitter, with Davis, a close associate of Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, attacking Unruh, the former Assembly Speaker and losing nominee for Governor in 1970. Unruh thinks he can win the primary without an expensive campaign, and Davis has been hitting him hard. Short is running for Treasurer partly because reapportionment eliminated his seat in the Legislature. Haskins, long-time employee in the Treasurer's office, is making his first venture into politics.

Attorney General

Republican: Incumbent Evelle Younger.
Democrats: Vincent Bugliosi of Glendale, William Norris of Los Angeles.

This is the only statewide race that failed to draw a large field, probably because the incumbent decided to seek reelection instead of running for Governor. The Bugliosi-Norris race could be close. Bugliosi, prosecutor of Charles Manson, is more conservative than Norris, who has been active in Southern California Democratic politics for many years and has good financial backing.

Superintendent of Public Instruction

Candidates (non-partisan): Incumbent Wilson Riles of Sacramento, Everett T. Calvert of West Covina, Warren Linville of Montebello, Kent Floyd of San Diego, Harold Jindrich of Mountain View, Cornelia Meyer of Oakland, Mariana Hernandez of Los Angeles.

Riles has been a rather non-controversial schools chief, and he is not expected to have much trouble winning a second term. The main opposition will come from Calvert, one-time deputy to the man Riles defeated, Max Rafferty. Linville is a school-district superintendent.

Names of candidates were obtained from unofficial lists compiled by the Secretary of State's office. Contests were analyzed by Ed Salzman in consultation with politicians and political writers throughout California.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Board of Equalization

First District

Democrats: Incumbent George Reilly of San Francisco, Charles Partello of Sylmar, Warren Church of Watsonville.

Republicans: Frank Arklin of Canyon County, Leo Bardonas of Santa Cruz, June S. McGee of San Nuys.

Peace and Freedom: Pat Propst of San Francisco.

The public gives little attention to these races, and incumbents usually lose only at times of political sweeps. Church, a county supervisor, intends to run an aggressive campaign against Reilly, but the district will be too large for him to cover. Arklin is a former assemblyman.

Second District

Democrats: Incumbent John W. Lynch of Fresno, James R. Covell of Riverside, Thomas W. Crago of San Diego, Mary Heising of San Diego, Frank Manzo of Santa Ana, W. G. Sloan of Temecula, Bernard Wocher of Santa Ana.

Republicans: Frank A. Smith Jr. of Yucaipa, S. Jack Templeton of San Diego.

This large a field virtually assures Lynch the Democratic nomination.

Third District

Democrat: Incumbent William M. Bennett of Kentfield.

Republicans: Tally P. Mastrangelo of Sausalito, Edward J. Sullivan of San Anselmo.

American Independent: Joyce W. Stancliffe of Willits.

Bennett, a noisy consumer advocate, is the most visible, or audible, member of the board, and looks likely to win another term.

Fourth District

Democrats: Incumbent Richard Nevins of Pasadena, Sheldon Tobias of Los Angeles.

Republicans: William D. Getty of San Gabriel, Albert Kindt of Santa Monica.

Peace and Freedom: Mike Timko of Los Angeles.

Nevins need fear only a massive revolt against incumbents or an unanticipated GOP sweep.

Congress

District 1 — Democrats: Incumbent Harold (Bizz) Johnson of Roseville, Bill Steele of North San Juan. American Independent: Dorothy Paradis of Oroville.

Johnson has a solid hold on his seat, and this is no the year for him to lose his grip.

District 2 — Republicans: Incumbent Don Clausen of Crescent City, Barbara Richter of Arcata. Democrats: Oscar Klee of Ukiah, John Boskovich of Santa Rosa, Jim Brown of Eureka, James Hanratty of Eureka, Patricia Losh of Eureka. Peace and Freedom: Carole Glass of Cotati.

Normally Clausen runs far ahead of his Republican registration. This district could go Democratic if the Watergate factor is strong enough and this is probably what brought out all the Democratic candidates.

District 3 — Democrat: Incumbent John Moss of Sacramento. Republican: Ivaldo Lenci of Sacramento.

Even if Lenci won in November, he probably couldn't serve because he hasn't been a citizen long enough. That problem isn't likely to arise, however.

District 4 — Democrat: Incumbent Robert Leggett of Suisun City.

Republicans chose not to waste time and effort in this overwhelmingly Democratic district.

District 5 — Democrats: Assemblyman John L. Burton of San Francisco, Alan Reeves of San Francisco, Alan French of San Francisco, T. V. McGuire of San Rafael. Republicans: Jean M. Wall of San Francisco, Thomas Caylor of San Francisco, Sean McCarthy of San Rafael. Peace and Freedom: Raymond Brashears of San Francisco.

This is the district abandoned after redistricting by Republican William Mailliard, now ambassador to the Organization of American States. Republicans failed to come up with a big name, and Burton seems to have a clear field. If Burton wins, he will join brother Phil in Congress.

District 6 — Democrat: Incumbent Phil Burton of San Francisco. Republican: Tom Spinosa of San Francisco. American Independent: Carl Davis of San Francisco. Peace and Freedom: Emily Siegel of San Francisco.

This will be an easy ride for Burton.

District 7 — Democrats: George Miller of Martinez, Daniel Helix of Concord, Art Carter of Richmond, Richard Beserra of Walnut Creek, Joe A. Smith of San Pablo, Gary Reber of Walnut Creek, James G. McGuire of Pleasant Hill. Republican: Gary Fernandez of Richmond.

Representative Jerome Waldie of Antioch is abandoning this seat to run for Governor. Reapportionment made it good for Democrats, but Fernandez, a Richmond councilman, could pull a surprise. Among the Democrats, the leading contenders are Miller, son of the late state Senator George Miller Jr.; Helix, a Concord councilman and a BART director; Carter, a labor leador; and Beserra, a former Democratic National Committee official. Miller and Helix are the early leaders.

District 8 — Democrats: Incumbent Ronald Dellums of Berkeley, Curtis Aller of Berkeley, Frederick H. Murphy of Piedmont. Republicans: Voss Wysinger of Berkeley, Phil Breck Jr. of Berkeley, Jack Reddon of Berkeley. American Independent: Jack Holland of Oakland.

Dellums was weakened by reapportionment, bringing out more candidates than normal. His biggest challenge will come from Aller, a community college trustee. This is an area where political turmoil is the norm.

District 9 — Democrats: Incumbent Fortney (Pete) Stark of Danville, Manuel Alvarado of Oakland. Republican: Edson Adams of Piedmont.

Stark, who unseated veteran Democrat George Miller two years ago, has surprisingly clear sailing for a second term.

District 10 — Democrats: Incumbent Don Edwards of San Jose, Marian Banducci of Fremont. Republicans: John Enright of San Jose, Tim Montgomery of Milpitas.

Edwards always wins handily, and this should be no exception. Montgomery is a city councilman.

District 11 — Democrats: Incumbent Leo J. Ryan of South San Francisco, Lydia Merdinger of South San Francisco. Republican: Brainard Merdinger of South San Francisco. American Independent: Nicholas Kudrovzeff of Pacifica.

The Merdingers are mounting a novel campaign against Ryan, who should win nonetheless. Lydia Merdinger is running in the primary to help the family name get exposure, theoretically helping her husband get more votes in November.

District 12 — Republicans: Incumbent Paul (Pete) McCloskey of Menlo Park, Gordon Knapp of Atherton, John K. Frederick of Palo Alto. Democrats: Gary Gillmor of Santa Clara, Herbert Rhodes of East Palo Alto, Thomas Skornia of Atherton, Lawrence Spitters of Palo Alto.

McCloskey, one of the most liberal Republicans in Congress, has survived conservative attacks before, but he could lose to Knapp, a well-financed businessman. Should Knapp win the primary, a Democrat — possibly Gillmor, mayor of Santa Clara — could win in November.

District 13 — Republicans: George Milias of Gilroy, Mark Gallant of San Jose, James Hadreas of Los Altos, Virginia C. Shaffer of San Jose, Antony C. Gualtieri of Los Gatos. Democrats: Norman Mineta of San Jose, Corinne Friedman of San Jose, S. David Simpkins of San Jose, American Independent: Floyd Stancliffe of San Jose. Peace and Freedom: Elizabeth Barron of Sunnyvale.

Milias, a former assemblyman, and Mineta, mayor of San Jose, should win the major-party nominations without difficulty. This has been a Republican seat held by retiring Charles Gubser, but Mineta's personal popularity could overcome tradition.

District 14 — Democrats: Incumbent John J. McFall of Manteca, John E. Rogers of Acampo, William Romack Jr. of El Dorado Hills. Republicans: Lloyd S. Gilbert of Placerville, Charles M. Gibson of Stockton. American Independent: Roger A. Blain of Stockton.

McFall, Democratic whip in the House, should win reelection even though his district has been altered by redistricting.

District 15 — Democrat: Incumbent B. F. Sisk of Fresno. Republican: Carol O. Harner of Atwater.

Sisk should be a big winner.

District 16 — Republican: Incumbent Burt Talcott of Salinas. Democrats: Philip W. Harry of Santa Cruz, Julian Camacho of Capitola, Morgan Flagg of Monterey. American Independent: D. J. Mauro of Santa Cruz.

Talcott has been picked as a prime target by Democrats on the theory that he has been weakened by redistricting and Watergate. Harry is a Santa Cruz County supervisor, and Camacho ran a respectable second to Talcott two years ago. The Democratic primary could be close.

District 17 — Republicans: Incumbent Bob Mathias of Tulare, Richard Ettner of Fresno. Democrats: John Krebs of Fresno, Richard T. Morgan of Fresno, Vincent J. Lavery of Fresno.

= KEY DISTRICT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mathias, former Olympic track star, is supposed to be in deep trouble because of reapportionment, but he has always run far ahead of GOP registration. Krebs, a Fresno supervisor, should be the Democratic nominee. Lavery, a glib speaker without financial resources, lost to Mathias in 1972.

District 18 — Republicans: Incumbent William Ketchum of Bakersfield, Jim Miller of Lancaster, Robert E. Nelson of Rosamond. Democrats: Joseph F. Keeley Jr. of Canyon Country, George A. Seielstad of Bishop, Mary Timmermans of Bakersfield.

Ketchum, a rough-and-tumble political operator, moved from Paso Robles to Bakersfield following redistricting. He will probably survive even a Democratic landslide.

District 19 — Republicans: Incumbent Robert J. Lagomarsino of Ojai, Herbert Ford of Santa Maria. Democrats: James Loebl of Ojai, George H. Margolis of Simi Valley, R. W. Handley of Santa Maria.

Lagomarsino won a special election to succeed the late Charles Teague, also a Republican. He should hold his seat in November against a challenge from Loebl, Ojai mayor.

District 20 — Republicans: Incumbent Barry Goldwater Jr. of Burbank, David Lloyd George Garner of Newhall. Democrats: Robert J. Pelser of Thousand Oaks, Joseph R. Sweeney of Calabasas, Robert Goss of Thousand Oaks, Edwin Lawrence of Woodland Hills, Arline Mathews of Chatsworth, David Whittingham of Granada Hills.

Goldwater normally would be a cinch for another term, but this is one of several GOP districts in which several Democrats have filed hoping for Watergate anti-GOP lightning to strike.

District 21 — Democrat: Incumbent James C. Corman of Reseda. Republican: Mel Nadell of North Hollywood.

Corman should win handily.

District 22 — Republicans: Incumbent Carlos Moorhead of Glendale, Dewitt J. Fox of Glendale. Democrats: H. "Starr" Pak of Glendale, Richard Hallin of La Canada.

This is a Republican stronghold, and Moorhead should survive a primary against Fox, a surgeon.

District 23 — Democrats: Incumbent Thomas Rees of Beverly Hills, Jack Yohanna of Sherman Oaks. Republican: Jack E. Roberts of Los Angeles.

Rees should win easily.

District 24 — Democrats: Assemblyman Henry Waxman of Los Angeles, Ross Hopkins of Los Angeles, Herb Selwyn of Los Angeles. Republicans: Mary Frisina of Los Angeles, Eliott Graham of Los Angeles, Patrick Coleman of Los Angeles, Robert Deritis of Los Angeles.

This is an open seat in a heavily Jewish section of Los Angeles, and Waxman is expected to win without much trouble.

District 25 — Democrat: Incumbent Ed Roybal of Los Angeles.

Roybal will return after having toyed with running for Los Angeles supervisor.

District 26 — Republican: Incumbent John Rousselot of San Marino. Democrats: Paul Conforti of Glendora, Pat Patton of San Gabriel, Roger Regnier of San Gabriel, Nancy Seegmiller of Sierra Madre.

The Democrats need a miracle to unseat Rousellot in this GOP seat.

District 27 — Republicans: Incumbent Alphonzo Bell of Marina del Rey, Alex Mlikotin of Santa Monica. Democrats: Robert Brown of Mission Hills, Tony De Cou of Redondo Beach, Carl Miciak of West Los Angeles, John Dalessio of Pacific Palisades, Ralph J. Killmeyer of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Jerry Rubin of Venice.

It will take a slightly lesser miracle to defeat Bell.

District 28 — Democrats: Incumbent Yvonne Brathwaite Burke of Los Angeles, Leon E. Lofton Jr. of Inglewood. Republican: Tom Neddy of Culver City.

Burke should have as easy a time winning reelection as any other member of the delegation.

District 29 — Democrats: Incumbent Augustus Hawkins of Los Angeles, Jim (Scoop) Young of Inglewood.

Young probably won't scoop up nearly enough votes to defeat the veteran Hawkins.

District 30 — Democrats: Incumbent George Danielson of Monterey Park, Esteban Torres of East Los Angeles, Tony Sanchez of Pico Rivera. Republicans: Phil Ortiz of Pico Rivera, Ricardo Espinosa of Montebello, John J. Perez of Pico Rivera.

Chet Holifield, the state's senior congressman, retired rather than go head-to-head with Danielson, who is still not out of trouble. The district is about 42 percent Chicano, and Danielson will have Mexican-American opponents in June and November. He has survived this kind of challenge before, however.

District 31 — Democrats: Incumbent Charles Wilson of Hawthorne, Emily Card of Gardena, Walter Tucker of Compton. Republican: Norman Hodges of Compton. Peace and Freedom: Wiliam C. Taylor of Los Angeles.

Wilson, often mentioned as a vulnerable primary candidate, has managed to survive and probably will again.

District 32 — Democrat: Incumbent Glenn Anderson. American Independent: Virgil V. Badalich of Torrance. Peace and Freedom: Frank Walker of Long Beach.

This is tantamount to a free ride for former Lieutenant Governor Anderson.

District 33 — Republican: Incumbent Del Clawsen of Downey. Democrats: Jerry Olivet of Whittier, Philip Megdal of Norwalk, Leigh Storey of Downey, James McKechnie of Hacienda Heights, Dean Watson of Downey, Bob White of Norwalk, William O'Donnell of Pico Rivera, Ted Snyder of Whittier. American Independent: Jim Griffin of Norwalk.

The long list of Democrats stems from the assumption that Watergate can defeat even previously strong-running Republicans like Clawsen.

District 34 — Republicans: Assemblyman Bill Bond of Long Beach, Don Phillips of Long Beach, Bill Semerero of Long Beach, John Philip Sousa IV of Huntington Beach, Gil Stevens of Long Beach. Democrats: Russ Rubley of Long Beach, Tony Gigliotti of Long Beach, Mark Hannaford of Long Beach, Conrad Housley of Long Beach, Dennis Murray of Long Beach, Wallace Rodecker of Huntington Beach, Robert Sassone of Fountain Valley, Henry Schultz of Long Beach, Jared Sloan of Corona del Mar, Virginia Waters of Long Beach. Peace and Freedom: John S. Donahue of Long Beach. American Independent: James Manis of Westminster.

Bond is the early favorite in this scramble, caused by retirement of veteran GOP Congressman Craig Hosmer. The race also includes two Long Beach councilmen, Rubley and Phillips, a well-known businessman, Sousa, and a state college executive, Murray.

District 35 — Republicans: Incumbent Victor V. Veysey of Claremont, Henry Gerardo of West Covina, Jim Barreca of Mira Loma. Democrats: George Kasem of West Covina, James Maurer of Upland, Tom McClure of Montclair, Frank Cooper of Covina, Les Craven of Azusa, Jim Lloyd of West Covina, Mary Montes of Pomona, Myron Roberts of San Dimas, Keith Shirey of Glendora, Bob Stafford of Claremont.

Veysey, reapportioned out of his own district, moved north into open territory to meet a host of challengers calling him carpetbagger. Veysey probably will win the primary without much trouble. The November outcome may depend on the fate of the Republican Party generally. The large Democratic field includes a former congressman, Kasem, and two councilmen, McClure and Lloyd.

District 36 — Democrats: Incumbent George Brown Jr. of Colton, Fritz Mendoza of Bloomington, Clodeon Adkins of Hemet. Republicans: Jim Osgood of Lake Arrowhead, Jim Austin of Fontana. American Independent: William E. Pasley of Rialto.

Brown, at the liberal end of the political spectrum, isn't entirely safe. But this seems neither the year nor the kind of opposition needed to oust him.

District 37 — Republican: Incumbent Jerry Pettis of Loma Linda. Democrats: C. Rebel Randall of Palm Springs, Glenn Richardson of Palm Springs, Madeleine Sumpter of Twentynine Palms, Bobby Ray Vincent of Crestline. American Independent: John H. Ortman of Norco.

Pettis seems solidly entrenched.

District 38 — Democrats: Jerry Patterson of Santa Ana, Howard Adler of Garden Grove, Leonard Holland of Garden Grove, Albert Nasser of Garden Grove. Republicans: Beau Clemens of Los Alamitos, David Rehmann of Garden Grove, Joy Neugebauer of Westminster, Frederick Risser of Garden Grove. American Independent: Lee Rayburn of Huntington Beach. Peace and Freedom: Larry Kallenberger of Santa Ana.

This wide-open race was created after Democratic Congressman Richard Hanna decided to retire from politics. The seat could go to any of several candidates from either party, among them Patterson, mayor of Santa Ana, Neugebauer, a city council member, and Rehmann, a prisoner of war in North Vietnam for six years.

District 39 — Republicans: Incumbent Charles Wiggins of Fullerton, Robert Ashley of Yorba Linda, Thurston Shinn Jr. of La Habra. Democrats: Douglas R. Davidson of Villa Park, Bill Farris of Orange, Kenneth Perkins of Yorba Linda, Jerome Sheinblum of Anaheim, Conrad Tuohey of Fullerton. American Independent: Pat Scalera of Anaheim.

This is a safe Republican seat for Wiggins.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

District 43 — Republican: Incumbent Andrew Hinshaw of Newport Beach, Dave Carroway of El Toro, David Gubler of Mission Viejo, Roger Lanphear of Laguna Beach. Democrats: Casper Hare of Tustin, John Graef of Costa Mesa, Rod Wilson of Oceanside. American Independent: Grayson Watkins of Anaheim.

The Democrats would have to make a clean sweep of the delegation to defeat Hinshaw, who is headed for a second term.

District 41 — Republican: Incumbent Bob Wilson of San Diego. Democrats: John A. Brady of La Mesa, Mel Crain of El Cajon, Dan Finnegan of San Diego, King Golden of San Diego, Chuck Hoffman of San Diego, Colleen Marie O'Connor of San Diego, Frank Caprio of San Diego. American Independent: Robert W. Franson of San Diego.

Wilson might normally be expected to be safe, but Democrats have been winning some surprising races in San Diego in recent years. Wilson's defeat could be this year's surprise.

District 42 — Democrat: Incumbent Lionel Van Deerlin of Chula Vista. Republican: Wesley Marden Jr. of Chula Vista.

All looks well for Van Deerlin.

District 43 — Republican: Incumbent Clair W. Burgener of Rancho Santa Fe. Democrats: Bill Ascherfeld of San Diego, David Rock of Riverside, Bill Bandes of El Cajon.

Burgener is popular in this solidly Republican area and should win handily.

STATE SENATE

District 2 — Republicans: Incumbent Peter H. Behr of Tiberon, Bob Theiller of Santa Rosa. Democrats: Ernest Banker of Ukiah, Leslie A. Grant of San Rafael. Peace and Freedom: Toni Novak-Sutley of Petaluma.

Behr, most independent GOP member of the Senate, faces a stiff challenge from Theiller, a Sonoma County supervisor. The winner of the Republican primary should win the general. Banker is a Mendocino County supervisor.

District 3 — Democrats: Assemblyman John Dunlap of Napa, Melvyn E. Lucas of West Sacramento, William J. Wynn of Davis. Republicans: David McKinley of Sacramento, William H. McPherson of Napa. Peace and Freedom: Sharon Marlow of Santa Rosa.

This district seems made to order for Dunlap.

District 6 — Democrat: Incumbent George Moscone of San Francisco. Republican: Max Woods of San Francisco. American Independent: Raymond Heaps of San Francisco.

Moscone is a prohibitive favorite.

District 8 — Democrats: Incumbent John Holmdahl of Castro Valley, Rudy Triviso of Hayward. Republican: Patrick Colglazier of San Leandro.

Holmdahl would need more substantial opposition to be unseated.

District 10 — Democrat: Incumbent Arlen Gregorio of San Mateo. Republicans: Donald Spicer of Palo Alto, James Tormey Jr. of San Mateo. American Independent: Joss Cooney of Menlo Park.

This is a difficult district for a Democrat to hold, but the leading GOP potential candidate (Assemblyman Dixon Arnett) withdrew. The race between Spicer and Tormey could be close.

District 12 — Republican: Incumbent Clark Bradley of San Jose. Democrats: Victor Beauzay of Saratoga, Mary Harrison of Santa Clara, Jerome Smith of Saratoga. American Independent: William P. Herrell of Saratoga.

Bradley is expected to be a prime Democratic target. Smith, Mayor of Saratoga, is the early favorite to win the Democratic nomination, but a tight three-way race could develop.

District 14 — Democrat: Incumbent George Zenovich of Fresno.

Unopposed, Zenovich will be actively supporting other candidates in an effort to win votes to capture the Senate's top job, President pro Tempore, from fellow Democrat James Mills of San Diego.

District 16 — Democrat: Incumbent Walter Stiern of Bakersfield. Republican: LeRoy Jackson of Bakersfield.

Stiern is a traditional GOP target, and Jackson, a Kern County supervisor, will put him to the test again.

District 18 — Republicans: Assemblyman W. Don MacGillivray of Santa Barbara, Albert R. Albinger of Ventura, Charles Catterlin of Santa Barbara, Ruth McPherson of Oxnard. Democrats: Laird Hayes of Santa Barbara, Russell Herron of Camarillo, Paul Kinney of Ventura, Omer Rains of Ventura. Peace and Freedom: Gregory Mohr of Isla Vista.

This is the seat vacated by Representative Robert J. Lagomarsino in March. Assemblyman MacGillivray is the best-known candidate, but his popularity has declined in recent elections. The Democratic primary should be wild.

District 20 — Democrats: Incumbent Alan Robbins of Van Nuys, James J. Lewis of Panorama City, John S. Meloni of Panorama City. Republican: Jack Ellis of Van Nuys. Peace and Freedom: Jan Knaizanski-Tucker of Arleta.

Robbins was spared a major problem when another Alan Robbins, an attorney from Sepulveda, failed to qualify for the ballot because of insufficient signatures on nomination papers. The incumbent should retain his seat.

District 22 — Democrat: Incumbent Anthony Beilenson of Los Angeles. Republicans: Dennis Bauer of Sherman Oaks, William A. Finer of Santa Monica. Peace and Freedom: Eric Garris of Venice.

Beilenson is not expected to have any difficulty winning reelection, although reapportionment gave him a new constituency.

District 24 — Democrat: Assemblyman Alex Garcia of Los Angeles. Republican: Catalina Martinez of Los Angeles. Peace and Freedom: Julia Luna Mount of Los Angeles.

This district is made to order for a Democratic Chicano.

District 26 — Democrat: Incumbent Alfred Song of Monterey Park. Republican: Walter Schroetter of Monterey Park.

Schroetter has a free ride in the primary, but should be defeated in the general, despite some adverse recent publicity for Song.

District 28 — Democrats: Incumbent Ralph Dills of Gardena, Ross Miller Jr. of Compton, Robert (Buzz) Pauley of Hawthorne. Republican: Dennis Brown of Bellflower.

Dills has strong competition from Miller, a city councilman, and Pauley, son of millionaire oilman Ed Pauley.

District 30 — Democrats: Assemblyman Frank Holoman of Los Angeles, John Durst of Los Angeles, Nate Holden of Culver City, Shirley Smith of Los Angeles, Horace Warren Jr. of Los Angeles. Republicans: Joseph Borges of Los Angeles, Hans Mechtold of Los Angeles.

This district should elect a black Democrat. The leading contenders are Assemblyman Holoman and Nate Holden, president of the California Democratic Council.

District 32 — Democrat: Incumbent Ruben S. Ayala of Chino. Republican: John Marcus of San Bernardino. American Independent: Raymond Clark of San Bernardino.

Ayala, victor in a hotly contested special election earlier this year, is expected to survive.

District 34 — Republicans: Incumbent Craig Biddle of Riverside, Mark Wehinger of Crestlane. Democrat: Robert B. Presley of Riverside. American Independent: Nial Meadows of Norco.

Presley, undersheriff of Riverside County, once before came close to defeating Biddle. The Democrat could win in November if the Watergate tide is running strongly.

District 36 — Republican: Incumbent Dennis Carpenter of Newport Beach. Democrat: Frank Barbaro of Costa Mesa. American Independent: Gerald Bogart of Huntington Beach.

Carpenter should have no difficulty in Republican country.

District 38 — Republican: Incumbent John Stull of Leucadia. Democrat: Jonnie Stahl of La Jolla.

Stull should win easily.

District 40 — Democrat: Incumbent James R. Mills of San Diego. Republican: James McKinney of National City.

Mills' biggest problem will come after re-election, when Senator Zenovich may try to take the top Senate leadership post away from him.

ASSEMBLY

District 1 — Democrats: Incumbent Pauline L. Davis of Portola, Timothy C. McKinney of Redding. Republicans: Incumbent Ray Johnson of Chico, Paul Tschirky of Tulelake.

Reapportionment set the stage for a bruising battle between two veteran legislators, Davis and Johnson. Davis is the early favorite.

District 2 — Democrat: Barry Keene of Eureka. Republican: Donald F. Peterson of Arcata.

Keene, seeking his second term, could get a rough race from Peterson, a Humboldt County supervisor.

District 3 — Republican: Incumbent Eugene Chappie of Roseville. Democrats:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ward Cameron of Paradise, Jack Carrico of Yuba City, Theresa Cook of Auburn, Byron Claiborne of Roseville, Haden (Bunny) Crites of Auburn, Ike Norred of Live Oak, Baron Reed of Roseville. American Independent: Alton Moss of Paradise.

Chappie usually wins easily, but his new territory has enticed a band of Democrats into the race. Reed, a Roseville councilman, Norred, a Sutter County supervisor, and Cameron, a Butte County supervisor, are among the contenders. Democrats say they will give Chappie a rougher time than usual.

District 4 — Democrats: Incumbent Edwin L. Z'berg of Sacramento, Joseph Genshlea of Sacramento, Chester Holt of Sacramento, Chester Stone of Vacaville. Republicans: Mike Abernathy of Sacramento, David Denholm of Woodland, Daniel Parrish of Woodland. American Independent: Jeannette H. Reese of Sacramento.

Z'berg may be vulnerable because of the publicity he received from a drunk-driving conviction and brief jail term. Genshlea, an attorney, has mounted a major campaign. Z'berg may survive, however, because of the large field. Republicans normally do poorly in this area.

District 5 — Democrats: Incumbent Walter Powers of Sacramento, Ben Franklin of Carmichael, Eugene T. Gualco of Sacramento, Vincent R. Morris of Fair Oaks. Republican: Todd Sloan of Sacramento. American Independent: Joy Hutchins of Rio Linda.

Powers may be facing his stiffest challenge in Gualco, a Sacramento County supervisor.

District 6 — Democrats: Incumbent Leroy Greene of Sacramento, I. William Brill of Sacramento, Dale Ordas of Carmichael, Warren Parker of Sacramento, Edgar True of Sacramento, Thomas Westley of Sacramento. Republicans: Frank Cockrell of Sacramento, Raymond Vandegriff of Sacramento.

Despite the large field, Greene is not in any special trouble. The competition was brought out by reapportionment, which changed the district significantly.

District 7 — Republicans: Incumbent Doug Carter of Stockton, Larry Cenotto of Jackson, Robert M. Lee of South Lake Tahoe, Dan S. Parises of Lodi, Delbert Rotelli of Sonora, R. Blair Reynolds of El Dorado Hills. Democrats: John Garamendi of Mokelumne Hill, David Mason III of Ione, Ralph Thiel of Sonora, Norman Waters of Plymouth.

This is one of the most interesting races in the state. Carter won his seat in a special election a year ago from a significantly different constituency. His GOP opponents include three former legislative staff members (Cenotto, Lee and Reynolds), plus two county supervisors, (Rotelli of Tuolumne and Parises of San Joaquin). The district could go Democratic in November, and the competition is fierce in that party as well. Garamendi is running an aggressive campaign against two supervisors, Thiel of Tuolumne and Waters of Amador.

District 8 — Democrats: Lewis Allen of Napa, David Kelly of Napa, George Kovatch of Santa Rosa, Newton Dal Poggetto of Sonoma, Alfred C. Siegler of Vallejo. Republicans: James V. Jones of Napa, Chester Hillyard of Vallejo, Edward Maybrun of Santa Rosa. Peace and Freedom: John R. Marlow of Santa Rosa.

With Assemblyman Dunlap running for the Senate, this is a wide-open district in which almost any candidate from either party could win. Siegler, a Solano County supervisor, and Dal Poggetto, a former justice-court judge, have the best name identification among the Democrats. Jones is a Napa councilman.

District 9 — Republicans: Susan Delaplane of Tiberon, A. Alan Hill of San Rafael, Gerald Hood of Mill Valley and Albert Schlogel of Rohnert Park. Democrats: Jack Felson of Forest Knolls, Harry Moore of Novato, Louis Sasselli of Corte Madera, George Silvestri Jr. of Novato, Michael Wornum of Mill Valley. Peace and Freedom: Nancy Gunn of Penngrove.

Hill, former Reagan administration executive, is the favorite to succeed GOP Assemblyman William Bagley, who is running for Controller. But Hill could be given a battle by Delaplane, wife of a Bay Area newspaper columnist, and Hood, a city councilman. The Democrats have an outside chance of taking this seat, and Wornum, a Marin County supervisor, is the party's prime prospect.

District 10 — Democrats: Incumbent Dan Boatwright of Concord, George Dye of Antioch. Republican: Claudia Nemir of Alamo.

Boatwright is expected to win easily both in June and November.

District 11 — Democrat: Incumbent John T. Knox of Richmond. American Independent: Theresa Dietrich of El Sobrante.

Knox won't have to campaign to win reelection.

District 12 — Democrat: Incumbent Ken Meade of Oakland. Republicans: Arthur Flegal of Piedmont, Thomas McClaren of Berkeley.

Although weakened by redistricting, Meade should win in November. Flegal is a Piedmont councilman, McLaren a former Berkeley councilman.

District 13 — Democrats: Incumbent John J. Miller of Berkeley, Eugene Stovall III of Berkeley. Republican: Edward Gingrich of Alameda.

Miller usually wins by enormous margins, and should repeat this year.

District 14 — Democrat: Incumbent Bill Lockyer of San Leandro.

Lockyer, elected to the Legislature in a special election less than a year ago, leads a charmed life. First, Assemblywoman March Fong (placed in the same district by reapportionment) announced for Secretary of State, possibly salvaging Lockyer's career. Then nobody filed in either party to run against him.

District 15 — Democrats: Incumbent Carlos Bee of Hayward, Robert Webb of Dublin. Republican: S. Guy Puccio of Castro Valley. American Independent: William Blattner of Union City.

The voters show no signs of tiring of Bee, first elected 20 years ago.

District 16 — Democrats: Incumbent John F. Foran of San Francisco, Eugene J. Boyle of San Francisco, Adolfo Majewsky of San Francisco. Republican: Norman Wadsworth of San Francisco. Peace and Freedom: Karen Hudiburgh of San Francisco.

This district opened to Foran when Assemblyman John Burton decided to run for Congress. But Foran faces a stiff primary fight from Boyle, a Catholic priest.

District 17 — Democrat: Incumbent Willie L. Brown Jr. of San Francisco. Republican: Al Graf of San Francisco.

Brown will win in a walk.

District 18 — Democrat: Incumbent Leo T. McCarthy of San Francisco. Republican: Terence Faulkner of San Francisco.

McCarthy has no re-election problems.

District 19 — Democrat: Incumbent Louis J. Papan. Republican: Gilbert Rodli Jr. of Burlingame. American Independent: James Stack of San Bruno.

Papan should repeat without difficulty.

District 20 — Republican: Incumbent Dixon Arnett of Redwood City. Democrat: Sidney Berlin of Atherton.

Arnett looks like a sure winner.

District 21 — Democrat: Victor Calvo of Mountain View. Republicans: George Burleson of Sunnyvale, Clarence Jackson Jr. of Palo Alto, Herbert Smith of Mountain View.

Calvo, a popular Santa Clara County supervisor, is the favorite in this open district.

District 22 — Republican: Incumbent Richard Hayden of Sunnyvale. Democrat: Madge Overhouse of Los Gatos.

This district is safe for Hayden.

District 23 — Democrat: Incumbent John Vasconcellos of San Jose. Republican: Steven Prader of San Jose. American Independent: Hugh Fine of San Jose.

Vasconcellos should win handily in November.

District 24 — Democrats: Arthur P. Baxter II of Gilroy, William H. Deal of San Jose, Leona Egeland of San Jose, Jose Martinez of San Jose, James Ono of San Jose, Charles Perrotta of San Jose, William Ashlock of San Jose, Susan Wallace of San Jose. Republicans: Claude D. Fletcher of San Jose, Gordon Sargent of San Jose, Peter Tweedt of San Jose. American Independent: Phyllis Brady of San Jose.

This is a wide-open district without a single overpowering candidate in either party. Tweedt, former aide to Lieutenant Governor Reinecke, is better known in Sacarmento than in San Jose.

District 25 — Democrats: Incumbent Alister McAlister of San Jose, Joe McCord of Fremont. Republicans: Jack A. Pimental of Fremont, Arthur F. Thomas of San Jose. American Independent: Mark Jaco of Fremont.

McAlister should win another term, although a majority of his district is now in Alameda County. This may have encouraged McCord and Pimental, mayor of Fremont, to run. Pimental should run strong in November, but the district is overwhelmingly Democratic.

District 26 — Democrats: Leda Nelson of Stockton, Carmen Perino of Stockton, Gary Wiler of Stockton. Republicans: Wesley Hull of Stockton and Sam Van Dyken of Ripon.

Republican prospects were so poor that Assemblyman Doug Carter chose to run in the 7th District. Perino and Wiler are San Joaquin County supervisors, and Perino has the edge.

District 27 — Democrats: Incumbent John Thurman of Modesto, Ernie LaCoste of Modesto. Republicans: George Valentine

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Modesto, Vernon Bacciarini of Modesto.

LaCoste gave up an Assembly seat two years ago to run for the state Senate. (He lost.) Now, he is trying a comeback against the man who replaced him, Thurman. Both are well known in the area, and the outcome is unpredictable.

District 2 — Republican: Incumbent Frank Murphy Jr. of Santa Cruz. American Independent: Anne Garni of Santa Cruz.

Murphy is so formidable that no Democrat filed.

District 28 — Republicans: Incumbent Robert Nimmo of Atascadero, James P. McCarley of Salinas. Democrat: Neal Royer of Atascadero. Peace and Freedom: Alan Fields of Cayucos.

Nimmo's main threat disappeared when another GOP incumbent, Bob Wood, decided not to contest this seat.

District 30 — Republican: Incumbent Ken Maddy of Firebaugh. Democrats: Al Villa of Fresno, Alex Brown of Fresno. American Independent: Lyle O. Cook of Fresno.

This is a difficult district for any Republican, especially if the expected Democratic tide develops. Maddy even toyed with changing parties. Brown came within shooting distance of Maddy in 1972, but may lose the primary to Villa, a Fresno councilman.

District 31 — Republican: Incumbent Ernest Mobley of Sanger. Democrats: Leon George of Fresno, Donna McKittrick of Fresno, Heyward Moore of Fresno, Charles Garrigus of Reedley, Elvin Bell of Fresno. American Independent: Floyd Heely of Fresno.

Mobley usually runs strong despite a heavy Democratic registration. Garrigus, a former Assemblyman, is trying a comeback again (he was defeated by Mobley in 1972), but he could have strong primary opposition. Bell is a Fresno councilman.

District 32 — Republican: Gordon W. Duffy of Hanford. Democrat: William J. Kennedy of Visalia. American Independent: Glenn Ritter of Hanford.

Duffy should be a shoo-in.

District 33 — Democrat: Ray Gonzales of Bakersfield. Republican: William M. Thomas of Bakersfield.

This has traditionally been a swing district, but Gonzales should repeat.

District 34 — Republicans: Bob Botts of Hesperia, Ken Hall of Palmdale, Warren Harwood of Lancaster, Joseph Lane of Lake Isabella, William Orchard of Newberry Springs. Democrats: Larry Chimbole of Palmdale, Arnie Rodio of Lancaster, Kenneth Smith of Ridgecrest, Dick White of Lake Hughes. American Independent: Jack Ashworth of Lancaster, Alan Noble of Hesperia.

Assemblyman Newton Russell, who probably could have won in this district without difficulty elected to run in an adjoining area. The district spreads over a large, relatively desolate section of Southern California and should go Republican. Among the better known GOP candidates are Botts, a former legislative aide, and Hall, until recently chief deputy director of the state Department of Finance. Smith is mayor of Ridgecrest.

District 35 — Democrat: Gary Hart of Santa Barbara. Republicans: Osborne Brazelton of Santa Barbara, Fran Elliott of Santa Maria, Tim Terry of Santa Barbara.

This area is now represented by Republican Don MacGillivray, who is running for state Senate. Hart nearly defeated MacGillivray in 1972, but this district could well remain Republican.

District 36 — Democrat: Incumbent Ken MacDonald of Ojai. Republican: Sarah Heath of Camarillo.

MacDonald, a pet GOP target, has managed to survive so long that Republicans show signs of giving up.

District 37 — Republicans: Incumbent Robert Cline of Northridge, Timothy Brockman of Saugus, Jacqueline Storinsky of Valencia. Democrats: Andy Martin of Valencia, Tom Neuner of Newhall.

Cline should be re-elected in this safe Republican district.

District 38 — Republicans: Incumbent Paul Priolo of Pacific Palisades, David Leanse of Malibu, Edward Perritt of Canoga Park. Democrats: Betty Mann of Agoura, Don Smith of Woodland Hills, Arthur Whizen of Agoura.

Reapportionment gave Priolo a safer seat, but he could still have problems.

District 39 — Democrats: Incumbent Jim Keysor of Sepulveda, Al Dib of Arleta. Republicans: Ronald Elersich of Sepulveda, Charles Whitlock of Granada Hills. Peace and Freedom: Hal L. Singer of Sepulveda.

The state Supreme Court masters drew this district as though it were meant for Keysor.

District 40 — Democrats: Martin Altman of Van Nuys, Tom Bane of Van Nuys, Blase Bonpane of Reseda, Robert Holzauer of North Hollywood, Jack McGrath of Van Nuys, Bert Spizman of North Hollywood, Rosemary Tribulato of Van Nuys. Republicans: Dennis Hayes of Sherman Oaks, Max Lost of Reseda.

Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti is giving up this seat to run for Governor. The man who preceded him, Bane, is attempting a comeback and is the early favorite.

District 41 — Republicans: Incumbent Mike Antonovich of Glendale, Incumbent Newton Russell of Tujunga. Democrat: Tom McQuoid of Glendale. American Independent: Jerome Linz of Glendale.

Russell, a veteran legislator, elected to go head-to-head with freshman Antonovich rather than run easily in the 34th. The race figures to be bitter and close.

District 42 — Republican: Incumbent Frank Lanterman of La Canada. Democrat: Norvene McBride of Pasadena. American Independent: Earl Harper of Pasadena.

Lanterman always wins with ease, and this should be no exception.

District 43 — Democrats: Incumbent Howard L. Berman of Beverly Hills, William J. Kurdi of Los Angeles. Republicans: Army White Fixler of Encino, Dixon Harwin of Beverly Hills.

Freshman Berman should retain his seat.

District 44 — Democrat: Incumbent Alan Sieroty of Los Angeles. Republicans: Richard Knickerbocker of Santa Monica, Pauline Merritt of Los Angeles.

Democrats hold a 2-1 margin in this district, and Sieroty should be an easy winner.

District 45 — Democrats: Hirsch Adell of Los Angeles, John Anwiler of Hollywood, Yale Harlow of Los Angeles, Thomas Kranz of Los Angeles, Wayne Marcus of Los Angeles, Herschel Rosenthal of Los Angeles, Jerry Sennes of Los Angeles, Arlene Sommers of Los Angeles. Republicans: Michael Germonprez of Los Angeles, Albert Karsa of Los Angeles, Betty Mikol of Los Angeles. American Independent: Dan Streeter of Los Angeles.

Assemblyman Waxman's decision to run for Congress released a flood of candidates in this politically active and heavily Jewish district. Adell, Rosenthal and Kranz have aggressive campaigns. Republicans have no chance in November.

District 46 — Democrat: Incumbent Charles Warren of Los Angeles. Republicans: Robert Betz of Los Angeles, Howard Watts of Los Angeles.

Warren shouldn't be stopped.

District 47 — Democrat: Incumbent Bill Greene of Los Angeles. Republican: John Lewis of Los Angeles.

A cinch for Greene.

District 48 — Democrat: Incumbent Leon Ralph of Los Angeles. Republican: Johnnie Neely of Los Angeles.

Ralph has the state's most Democratic district.

District 49 — Democrat: Incumbent Julian Dixon of Los Angeles. Republican: Timothy C. Riley of Los Angeles. American Independent: Donald Keller of Los Angeles.

Freshman Dixon will have no problems.

District 50 — Democrats: Ivy Dailey of Los Angeles, Alvin Dortch of Los Angeles, John Etheridge of Inglewood, John Floyd of Inglewood, Pierpoint Laidley of Inglewood, Alban Niles of Inglewood, Tollie Strode of Los Angeles, Manuel Talley of Los Angeles, Curtis Tucker of Inglewood. Republicans: Barbara Bloodgood of Los Angeles, John Holoman of Inglewood.

The decision of Assemblyman Frank Holoman to run for state Senate opened the Democratic flood gates. Tucker is a city councilman, but the field is so large that anything can happen. Holoman's brother, John, is the prime Republican hopeful in a district that is two-thirds Democratic.

District 51 — Republican: Incumbent Robert Beverly of Manhattan Beach. Democrats: Betty Brennan of Manhattan Beach, Gene Moore of El Segundo.

Beverly, GOP floor leader, is in no danger.

District 52 — Democrat: Incumbent Vincent Thomas of San Pedro. Republican: Fred Boettcher of San Pedro.

Thomas is about to win a 13th term.

District 53 — Republican: Incumbent Paul T. Bannai of Gardena. Democrats: Richard Ciampa of Los Angeles, Dick Floyd of Lawndale, Maurice Mayesh of Hawthorne, Steven Ohren of Hawthorne, Robert Sogge of Gardena, Donald Wilson of Hawthorne.

Bannai bucked strong Democratic registration to win a special election last year. Though a Democratic target, he may well survive.

District 54 — Democrats: Wilson Buckner of Compton, Richard English of Lynwood, Mary Lewis of Bellflower, Walter Mallonee of Paramount, Michael Morris of Compton, Jane Powell of Lynwood, Frank

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vicencia of Bellflower. Republican: Vincent Clark of Bellflower.

GOP Assemblyman McLennan decided this was too rough a district for him and looked for easier pickings. The Democratic contenders include lobbyist Vicencia, council members Buckner and Lewis, school trustee Morris and perpetual candidate English.

District 55 — Democrat: Incumbent Richard Alatorre of Los Angeles. Republican: John Miguel Feliz of Los Angeles.

Alatorre should win easily.

District 56 — Democrats: Joe Chavez of Los Angeles, Raymond Rodriguez of Los Angeles, Philip Soto of Los Angeles, Art Torres of Los Angeles, Ross Valencia of Los Angeles.

This is a solid Democratic Chicano district with no incumbent. Soto is a former assemblyman, but it is difficult to forecast a primary involving a variety of Chicano factions.

District 57 — Democrat: Incumbent Mike Cullen of Long Beach. Republicans: Wayne Sharp of Long Beach, John Waterbury of Long Beach.

Cullen should repeat without difficulty, and Sharp, a city councilman, is the GOP primary favorite.

District 58 — Republicans: George S. Curry of Lakewood, Jim Gray of Long Beach, Sumner Offill of Long Beach. Democrats: Fred W. Chel of Long Beach, Clarence Gregory of Long Beach, Ernie Kell of Long Beach, Carlos Navejas of Hawaiian Gardens. American Independent: Dick Marshall of Long Beach.

GOP Assemblyman Bill Bond is running for Congress, giving Democrats a slight chance to capture this traditionally Republican seat. Chel was their nominee in 1972.

District 59 — Democrats: Incumbent Jack R. Fenton of Montebello, Richard Baca of Montebello, Gershon Lewis of Monterey Park. Republican: Bill Orozco of Alhambra.

Fenton should survive. Lewis is a city councilman, and Orozco a community college trustee.

District 60 — Democrats: Incumbent Joseph Montoya of La Puente, Juana Barbarita of La Puente, Jack Crippen of El Monte. Republican: R. Bruce McPherson of La Puente.

Crippen, an El Monte councilman, could give Montoya a scare. The district is solidly Democratic.

District 61 — Republicans: Incumbent L. E. (Bud) Collier of Monrovia, Don Decker of San Gabriel. Democrats: Joseph Dichario Jr., Ed Ortell of Monrovia. American Independent: Brian Scanlon of Arcadia.

Decker is running an aggressive campaign to oust the 69-year-old Collier. The GOP nomination is tantamount to victory in November.

District 62 — Republican: Incumbent William Lancaster of Covina. Democrats: Jerry Jordan of Covina, Mark McManus of West Covina.

Lancaster should repeat handily.

District 63 — Democrat: Incumbent Joe Gonsalves of Cerritos. Republican: Bob McLennan of Downey. American Independent: Larry Brezeale of Whittier.

This district should provide a tight race in November between the veteran Gonsalves and the freshman McLennan.

District 64 — Republicans: Bill Campbell of Hacienda Heights, Jarrold Lawson Jr. of La Habra, Keith Miller of Whittier, John Underwood of La Mirada. Democrats: Charles Bauer of Hacienda Heights, Alex Hoffen of Hacienda Heights.

Campbell gave up an Assembly seat two years ago to run for Los Angeles County supervisor. He should return, but faces a stiff race from Miller, a Whittier councilman.

District 65 — Republicans: Richard Brownell of Pomona, Charles Bader of Pomona, Timothy Dolan of Upland, Clyde Stephens of Pomona, Pete Vander Poel of Chino. Democrats: Gene Axelrod of Pomona, Bill McVittie of Upland. American Independent: William Vogel of Ontario.

This new swing district is open to all comers. Republicans should win the seat, but a strong Democrat could take it. Bader is a Pomona councilman.

District 66 — Democrats: Incumbent John P. Quimby of San Bernardino, Terry Goggin of San Bernardino, Norris P. Gregory Jr. of San Bernardino, Mike Valles of Rialto. Republican: Tamara Wolfinbarger of Fontana.

Quimby, believed to be vulnerable in the primarily, may escape in a four-way race involving Goggin, an aide to congressman George Brown, Gregory, a city councilman, and Valles, former aide to Quimby.

District 67 — Republican: Incumbent Jerry Lewis of Highland. Democrats: Norman J. Davis of Beaumont, Ray Johnson of Yucca Valley. American Independent: Bernard Wahl of Hemet.

Lewis lost a special election to Ruben Ayala for the state Senate this year, but won't likely lose this contest.

District 68 — Democrat: Incumbent Walter Ingalls of Riverside. Republican: Edwin Shepard of Riverside.

Republicans will probably make a major effort to unseat Ingalls, but the freshman should repeat.

District 69 — Republicans: Incumbent John V. Briggs of Fullerton, William E. Schmidt of Anaheim. Democrat: Jack K. Mandel of Fullerton. American Independent: Albert Solomon of Fullerton.

Briggs should have no trouble.

District 70 — Republicans: Incumbent Floyd Wakefield of Anaheim, Jim Beam of Orange, Bill Ehrle of Anaheim, John V. Lynch of Santa Ana, Bruce Nestande of Anaheim. Democrats: Don Endresen of Fullerton, Sal Zavala of Placentia. American Independent: Neal de Gaston of Orange.

The key figure in this scramble is ultra conservative Assemblyman Wakefield, who moved into the district from a Los Angeles County constituency. He could get a rough race from Nestande, who has run before in this area.

District 71 — Republicans: Bob Bark of La Palma, Charles Thomas of Stanton. Democrats: Gilbert Arbiso of Stanton, Paul Carpenter of Cypress, Jesse M. Davis of Buena Park, Paul Erskine of Los Alamitos, Otto Lacayo of Cypress, Richard Swanson of Cypress. American Independent: Donald Swenson of Anaheim.

The decision of Democratic Assemblyman Ken Cory to run for state Controller opened the floodgates, and almost anything can happen in this swing district. Lacayo is probably the most experienced campaigner among the Democrats.

District 72 — Republicans: Reece Ballard of Garden Grove, Bill Hill of Santa Ana, Marlin McKeever of Santa Ana, John Ratterree of Santa Ana. Democrats: Orbry Chamblee of Garden Grove, David Hartman of Santa Ana, Richard Robinson of Santa Ana, Harry K. Yamamoto of Santa Ana, Claude E. Young of Santa Ana. American Independent: Richard Adams of Garden Grove.

The magic name in this cast belongs to McKeever, a professional football player. The district should go Republican, but the Democratic nominee might have a shot in this time of Watergate.

District 73 — Republican: Incumbent Bob Burke of Huntington Beach. Democrats: A. A. Van Petten of Huntington Beach, Dennis Mangers of Huntington Beach.

Burke has another easy ride.

District 74 — Republican: Incumbent Robert E. Badham of Newport Beach. Democrat: Sueanne Lewis of Mission Viejo.

This is the most Republican district in the state and Badham should continue his victory string.

District 75 — Republicans: Incumbent Ray Seeley of Blythe, William Schultz of Desert Hot Spring.

Seeley should have no difficulty, although Schultz is a councilman.

District 76 — Republican: Incumbent William A. Craven of Oceanside. Democrat: Ernestine Smith of La Jolla.

Craven should win by a big margin in November.

District 77 — Democrat: Incumbent Bob Wilson of La Mesa. Republicans: Mike Bollman of San Diego, John Ortman of San Diego, Rhoda Senter of Santee. American Independent: Alfred Smith of La Mesa.

Wilson holds a seat in traditional GOP territory. Bollman, an attorney and Republican club leader, is the GOP establishment choice to tackle Wilson.

District 78 — Democrat: Incumbent Lawrence Kapiloff of San Diego. Republicans: J. Brockway Clark of San Diego, Edward B. Huntington of San Diego, Rodney Smith of San Diego. American Independent: James Hicks of San Diego.

Kapiloff pulled a surprise in 1972 by unseating veteran Republican E. Richard Barnes. Huntington, executive director of San Diego Republican Associates, is expected to give him a strong challenge.

District 79 — Democrats: Incumbent Peter Chacon of San Diego, Alberto Puente of San Diego. Republican: Jesse Albritten of San Diego. American Independent: Bruce Emery of San Diego.

Chacon should win handily.

District 80 — Democrat: Incumbent Wadie P. Deddeh of Chula Vista. Republicans: Robert Green of Chula Vista, Norman Ross of Chula Vista, Roger Winchester of Jamul. American Independent: George Bomher of Chula Vista.

Deddeh usually runs ahead of his party, and this year looks like no exception.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The state Chamber's delicate balancing act

By VONNIE J. MADIGAN

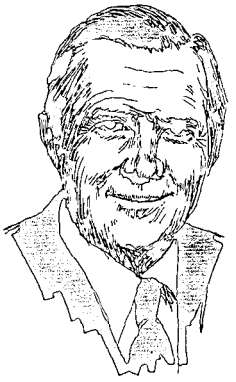
Staff directors at the California Chamber of Commerce admit to being weary of the telephone calls for information about Sutter's Fort. The apparent public misconception of the chamber as a pamphlet-giving organization is ironic in light of its appearance as an organization with a solid power base in state affairs. And, concedes the chamber's executive vice president, John T. Hay, the nearly million-dollar, private, nonprofit, business association, with its paid staff of 45 and membership of 4,000, remains a mystery to many in terms of purpose and effectiveness.

"If the state chamber went out of existence tomorrow, something similar to it would have to take it's place," said Hay. "I think that the responsible business leadership of the state feels that there must be a voice that speaks to the balanced best interests of all."

Chamber political action is developed by 60 directors and 16 statewide committees with nearly 1,000 members. These are aided by departments manned by paid staff directors and legislative advocates who have year-round responsibilities in their respective fields — currently taxation, urban planning and land use, water resources, natural resources, world trade, consumer affairs, agriculture, education, economic development, industry and labor relations, manpower and human relations, insurance, public affairs, transportation and tourism. Legislation affecting any of these areas is analyzed and considered by the appropriate director and statewide committee before going to the board of directors, which sets chamber policy. Referred to as the "lobbying giants" in Sacramento (with more lobbyists — 12 — registered in the Capitol than any other organization or cause), the California chamber has had a strong liaison with the Reagan administration.

Broad membership

Traditionally, the chamber has supported highway construction and projects associated with economic growth and development, while opposing legislation to extend or improve welfare benefits. Yet, despite the numbers, dollars and policies devoted to lobbying, the chamber management does not consider legislative advocacy a major role. "The thrust of our program is not as a professional lobbyist hired to go and try to convince legislators," explained George Sawyer, general manager for programs and chief legislative advocate. "We are representing a very broad membership, and must develop positions and information on issues through our committee structure and our board of directors."



George Sawyer

John T. Hay

Sawyer sees the chamber's role as one of educator to its membership, the 375 affiliated local chambers of commerce and the general public.

Conflicting interests

The question of whom the chamber really represents is a complicated one. Of its 4,000 members and 140 or so trade associations, about 80 percent come from small businesses. However, board membership (voting is based on amount of dues paid) is heavily weighted in favor of big business. Executives from such concerns as Southern Pacific, Bank of America, Del Monte, Union Oil, Pacific Telephone, Safeway, Pacific Gas and Electric, and Southern California Edison dominate the chamber's policy-making positions.

Because its membership is far-flung, however, the chamber's programs tend to be cautious. And its members can have conflicting interests. "If members in the California chamber are, say, manufacturers and there is a bill to raise the freight taxes, the manufacturers won't want its passage, but the railroad interests in the chamber will," observed Robert Burt of the California Manufacturers Association (itself a lobbying force). "The chamber then is forced to take a low profile or no position on the issue."

Other Capitol lobbying interests consider chamber positions to be more doctrinaire — what one lobbyist called "Orange County religiosity" — than based on what is economically and technically feasible. Chamber policy, they say, is developed without technical considerations by a demoralized staff that lacks special knowledge in such important fields as the environment. (These lobbyists cite as symptomatic a frequent turnover of personnel traceable to a non-competitive salary

The author is a free-lance writer based in Sacramento and formerly edited Pacific Business, *a magazine published by the California Chamber of Commerce.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Business finds itself confronted with some damnable legislation. You wonder sometimes where it comes from and out of what kind of intent. You bet we are going to be there, and we'll have to express all the opposition we can.

— George Sawyer
General Manager/Programs
California Chamber of Commerce

schedule and a demoralizing lack of organizational flexibility.)

Uniting force

Nonetheless, Hay sees his organization as an educational clearinghouse and legislative initiator. "Our staff members get impatient because we grind things along too slowly," he conceded. "We have to, because we cannot shoot from the hip. No longer can any one group go and get their own special-purpose and directed efforts through the Legislature. It is going to take a coalition of many groups. The chamber can bring them together." But there are conflicts when the interests of big businesses and of small businesses are at odds (which is why big corporations field their own lobbying teams).

Generally speaking, the chamber is united on broad measures to lower taxes or reduce government regulation of business. But since most bills treat even such subjects in a very specific way, the chamber's membership reacts in strong and diverse ways. (On such an issue as no-fault insurance, in which insurance companies lacked consensus, the insurance companies in the chamber were themselves divided, and the chamber took a wavering position.)

Last year, the chamber formed an urban planning and land use department as part of its environmental resources group. Its aim is to concentrate on state environmental controls on land use and planning. During the present legislative session, this new department is acting as a clearinghouse and alert system, a coordinating body and legislative catalyst for business and developers. Its efforts will be joined by support of a statewide energy policy that includes seeking resumption of offshore-oil development, support of the Alaskan pipeline construction and relaxation of environmental standards.

The chamber will also back legislation clarifying the California Environmental Quality Act, work to prevent contents of environmental impact reports from adopting necessarily the most desirable environmental alternative, and oppose the mandatory preparation of economic reports on private projects. It will continue to oppose farm-labor secondary boycotts, such as on lettuce and table grapes, public-employee collective-bargaining agreements, public subsidies (notably food stamps) to striking workers, and diversion of gasoline taxes to finance mass-transit projects.

Looking back

If the chamber's guidelines reflect the prominence of oil, construction, development and utility interests, it wasn't always thus.

The California chamber traces its beginnings to the California State Board of Trade organized in 1890. Its lineage includes the Home Industry League (1910), the California Development Board (1910) and California Industries Association (1920). In August 1921, the California Development Board and the California Industries Association merged into the first statewide civic-commercial organization. Its purpose was to "provide intelligent, organized help to all worthy statewide efforts." The name was changed in September 1929 ("to be more expressive of its purpose") to California State Chamber of Commerce, Agriculture and Industry. This was reduced in February 1972 to the California Chamber of Commerce.

Over the years, the chamber has served as fountainhead to a number of organizations and programs. It started the "Keep California Green" movement and staffed the activity until sufficient private funds could be raised to run the new organization. Similar efforts include:

- The California Council of Growers, which conducts a public-relations program to relate urban life to agriculture.
- The California Wine Institute, which promotes the wine industry [*CJ*, March 1974, p. 97].
- The California Transportation Council, an element of the so-called highway lobby.
- Pacific Legal Foundation, a public-service legal and environmental restrictions [*CJ*, February 1974, p. 59].

Environmental record

". . . This organization has a long history in support of environmental programs dating back to the 1930s, long before self-appointed conservationists formed themselves into an alliance," Hay stated in a message to state legislators. He cited chamber support for legislation to require county planning, establish air-pollution-control districts, create a scenic-highway system, and conserve natural-resources programs.

John Zierold, Sierra Club legislative advocate, finds this view of the chamber's history on conservation an "interesting irony". "The statement that the California chamber is pro-resources is a peculiarly Alice-in-Wonderland semantic oddity. . . . They have opposed coastal legislation, attempted to weaken the Environmental Quality Act, and fought against land-use legislation. . . . The chamber has a long and dismal history of lagging behind economic realities. They get a job done all right, but it's the wrong job."

The board

The chamber's decision-making body is its board of directors. It develops policy for the 12 chamber departments, and is, in Hay's view, "no rubber stamp".

Of 60 members of the board, only one is a woman — Mrs. James Copley, who was appointed last year to fill her deceased husband's directorship. They are elected to four-year terms, half of them every two years, from nominations made by a board-appointed nominating committee. Voting strength is determined by the amount of dues paid, with a maximum of 10 votes for a single company. Dues range from $100 to more than $10,000 yearly, based on a formula related to net worth and sales volume. The board's members presently

You'll get people who are down on the state chamber and you'll get others who are warm for us, but we like to be measured.

— John T. Hay
Executive Vice President
California Chamber of Commerce

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

heavily reflect enterprises doing business in the million-dollar range.

Board members must be residents of California under age 66, who occupy positions of major responsibility in a member firm or company. "As a matter of policy, it has been the chief executive officer of the company that is in our board," Hay said. Among those who have served are Herbert Hoover Jr., former undersecretary of state; Dr. Robert Gordon Sproul, former president of the University of California, and the late publisher and congressman, Joseph R. Knowland. Recent presidents include Fred L. Hartley of Union Oil, Ben Biaggini of Southern Pacific, Ernest Loebbecke of TI Corporation; the current president is William French Smith, Governor Reagan's personal attorney and a University of California regent.

The chamber's membership receives weekly bulletins regarding current legislative trends, a monthly newsletter and a bi-monthly magazine that expand on chamber positions and business topics. Hay also believes in using polls to tap feelings. "It is another way of communicating with them, because I can't go out and see members all over the state," he said. Memberships and chamber positions are directly related. For example, during last session's fight over a farm-labor bill that extended unemployment-insurance benefits to farm workers, SB 493, the chamber's opposition lost it more than one hundred Central Valley memberships.

Special projects

If Hay and Sawyer don't see the chamber's major role as that of a lobbyist, it may be because their organization runs a number of special projects. A campaign was initiated to encourage businesses to foster political consciousness among their employees. This led to chamber sponsorship of "Political Action in California", a school course in government sponsored by California's large business firms, Standard Oil, Pacific Telephone, PG&E, Carnation, Union Oil, General Telephone, Wells Fargo Bank. The eight-week course is nonpartisan and has the endorsement of both Republican and Democratic state chairmen. It will be tested in the Los Angeles City Schools System this year. During election years, the chamber publishes *We the People*, a voters' guide to federal and state elections that includes a picture of all candidates and a brief summary of their qualifications and positions on issues.

Chamber special projects also deal with federal legislative proposals. One such project in 1972 explored the fiscal impact of California of HR 1, under which the federal government took over administration this year of adult welfare programs. The results were presented to Congress.

A chamber study on reforming the initiative process is now before the Legislature in the form of ACA 48 (Knox). The last two elections saw 11 initiative measures on the ballot, ranging from Proposition 20, the Coastal Zone Conservation Act (chamber opposed) to the reinstatement of the death penalty (chamber supported). Hay and Sawyer feel that the variety and number of measures were too numerous and complicated for the voting public to interpret them all adequately. (It was also harder for the chamber to mount adequate campaigns for and against so many measures.)

Basically, the bill calls for reducing the number of signatures needed to qualify an initiative petition, but would send the qualified measure to the Legislature for consideration. The Legislature could approve it, amend it or disapprove it. If approved, the proposal could be adopted by the Legislature or be put on the statewide ballot without further signatures. If amended, the initiators would have to determine whether they were satisfied with the changes; if so, the amended proposal could be placed on the ballot. In the event of rejection, the sponsors could choose to submit their proposal to the voters at the next election by first obtaining the second half of the required number of signatures.

"Proposition 20 [the coastline initiative] is a good example of how this measure makes the initiative process more democratic," Hay maintained. "Proposition 20 was initiated, petitions were circulated and it was put on the ballot and decided on in less than six months. It was too complicated and devastating in its total results for us to absorb it along with other initiatives on the ballot." (Dick Gregory, advocate for the Peoples Lobby, called ACA 48 destructive. Not only would it water down the impact of constituent-proposed legislation through the system of hearings and possible delays by legislators, he asserted, but it would allow special-interest groups more time to head off measures not to their benefit.)

Unique optic

Whether it is in the field of legislative advocacy, federal study groups or political education, the chamber differs from other regional and national organizations supporting industry by its representation of multiple views. While this optic dilutes its potential as a lobbying force since it is not *the* voice of business, it may make it more effective as an educational force, as Hay and Sawyer suggest.

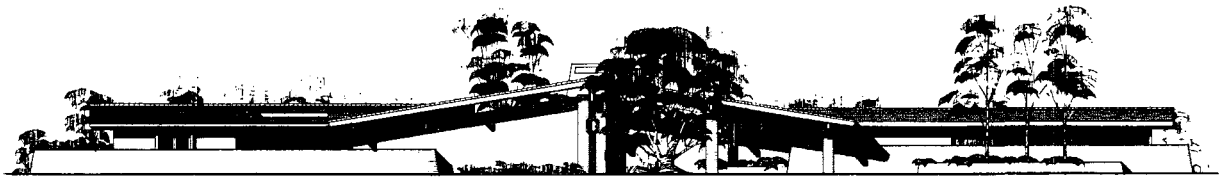
And, it does continue to give out information on Sutter's Fort.

Correction

In the article on women in politics in last month's Journal, the year Mildred Younger (wife of Attorney General Evelle J. Younger) won the Republican nomination for state senator from Los Angeles County was 1954, not 1968.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Design for the Governor's mansion:



'Timeless Early California Spanish' OR 'Late Suburban Country Club'

By BRUCE KEPPEL

Pat Brown stuck out his two terms in the old Governor's Mansion across from the filling stations and the Mansion Inn, where he used to swim until embarrassed friends built him a pool next to the residence. But he let it be known that the place still had its drawbacks as a home away from home. Brown had even gone so far as to have held an architectural competition in 1962 to design a replacement. The winning entry, whose design is filed away somewhere in state archives, was to be built as part of a complex of new government offices on a new superblock adjacent to Capitol Park. Ronald Reagan evicted Brown before adequate funds could be appropriated, however, and then shelved the entire government-building plan [*CJ*, November 1972, p. 335]. But it took only one night to convince the old mansion's new occupant that here at least was an issue on which the erstwhile opponent was absolutely right. And now, in the twilight of his reign, Reagan wants to assure himself that the State of California does better by his successors — be they Democrat or Republican — than it has done by him.

A 'firetrap'

Actually, if anything, the old mansion was even noisier than the Browns had led Reagan and his wife, Nancy, to expect. There were other problems, too. For one thing, the neighborhood had degenerated from fashionable to commercial, with the already cramped plot surrounded by structures with which no one would ever associate the word stately. Moreover, Mrs. Reagan pointed out, the area offered few likely playmates for her young son, and what local kids there were of his age in the Chicano-flavored streets nearby were unlikely to attend Skipper's private school. Then, a few days later, Mrs. Reagan fled the building after a false fire alarm had caught her upstairs in what she called the "firetrap".

No, the nearly century-old Victorian Gothic remnant would never do, even if Skipper did enjoy, as his father reported, sliding down the continuous and curving banister (a rarity in his native Bel Air). So the Reagans began house-hunting.

Their search ended at 1341 45th Street, before a spacious 25-year-old house of Tudor persuasion designed by the builder of Sacramento's bulky Tower Bridge. As luck would have it, the neighboring homes sheltered at least three children who happened to attend Skipper's school.

Reagan himself at first paid the $15,000-a-year rent. When his landlord sought to sell the place, a group of Reagan supporters bought the house and continued the lease, at the same rate, sparing the millionaire Governor from, as he put it, "being put out on the street." Now, the state pays the rent to Reagan's benefactors, and the old Governor's Mansion is a state historic monument open to the public.

A new mansion

Even the house on 45th Street was not entirely adequate to the needs of the state's chief executive. Major entertaining could take place only in good weather when guests could spill out around the swimming pool and volleyball court. And Mrs. Reagan recalls with a shudder the night Vice President Agnew spent in the guest room, which has no bath, "so he crossed the hall to reach our daughter's bathroom," a situation she called "a little rinky-dink for a state the size of California."

It's ironic, perhaps, that Reagan's initially austere approach to public spending had ruled out the Brown-sponsored mansion with its plentitude of adjoining baths. Convinced that private donations could provide for a suitable residence, however, the new Governor turned again to his friends and free enterprise. The result was formation of the "Citizens for a Residence for California Governors" to raise 550,000 tax-deductible dollars to build a house. That goal was never met, but the $130,000 collected enabled the Governor's friends to purchase 11 secluded acres commanding a bluff overlooking the American River in suburban Carmichael. This they presented to the state as a site for the mansion that state law required to be in Sacramento.

The Governor, who described himself as one never to look a "gift house" in the mouth, went to work to get authorization to build outside the city and the funds to do so. By last June, he had succeeded, though the public cost to make good the "gift" was now at least double what Brown had contemplated in 1962, not to mention

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the "Citizens for a Residence". Working drawings are now being prepared, and bidding is expected to take place by summer. If construction can start in August, the house will be ready for Reagan's successor sometime next year.

Democratic disfavor

That will provide a happy ending, however, only if a Republican succeeds Reagan. The Democratic hopefuls, including Brown's son, are united behind a downtown location — if a mansion is to be built at all. (State architect John Worsley rather pedantically chided the press for confusing a "mansion" with a "residence", drawing a distinction that escapes *Webster's* general description of "mansion" as "a structure serving as a dwelling or lodging place" and "a large imposing residence".)

While the working drawings are being drawn up, political maneuvering continues in an effort to block the project Mrs. Reagan wants "for California more than most anything."

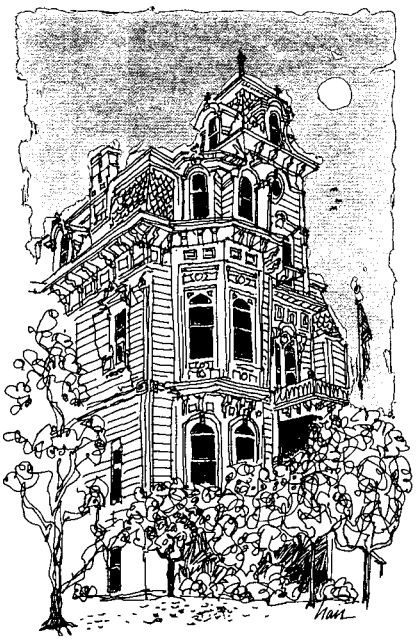
A persistent opponent of the suburban site has been Sacramento Democratic Assemblyman Edwin Z'berg. He has introduced legislation to switch the location back to the Capitol area, but Reagan has vowed to veto any such bill. Democratic Assemblyman John Burton of San Francisco offered a resolution (ACR 173) lumping the Legislature's need for space with the Governor's. The resolution calls for the Legislature's Joint Rules Committee to study the feasibility of moving the executive-branch offices from the Capitol to a new executive-branch building that could be combined with a Governor's residence, *à la* White House. (In fact, Republican Senator Robert Stevens of Los Angeles dubbed the measure "The Sacramento White House Bill".) Finally, Senate President pro Tempore James Mills, a San Diego Democrat, introduced another resolution (SCR 110) to study whether solar energy could be used to climatize the Carmichael mansion; the findings would be due January 1st, with construction awaiting the report (though Mills says he's flexible on that point).

County opposition

But to Z'berg, the most promising way to stop the Governor's project at this point will have to come on the local level. The Sacramento County Board of Supervisors opposes the suburban location as creating an unwanted attraction, and the Sacramento City Council wants the Governor to live downtown for the same reason.

Just how the project can be halted on this level is unclear, aside from delaying actual construction until Reagan leaves office and, presumably, one of the Democrats succeeds him. So far, environmental and historical considerations have been invoked to delay the project. Maidu and Cherokee Indian representatives won a court order halting site preparation last spring until the bluff could be explored as the possible location of a hitherto unsuspected Indian village and burial ground. The ensuing exploration, financed by a $110,000 emergency appropriation, turned up no archeological evidence on the construction site itself. "We do want to do some more work," said the state's archeologist, Francis A. Riddell, "but what we have found so far would tend to support the fact that no great damage would be done by building the mansion."

An environmental impact report subsequently concluded that construction "will not result in major damage to the existing natural environment." It called location of the mansion there "the least disruptive use" for the 11 acres. But it did not explore alternative sites. Z'berg thinks that state law requires such an evaluation and hopes that local interests will push for one.



State approval

In any case, the state Board of Public Works, with three Reagan appointees carrying the vote, accepted a conceptual drawing of the proposed residence on the basis of the 100-page environmental report, and approved a $1.45 million appropriation for construction.

The drawing, by the Los Angeles firm of Buff and Hensman, shows a low-slung adobe structure surrounding a courtyard and roofed in red tile. Its 12,000 square feet will include six bedrooms (each with either an adjoining or a separate bath), a large living room with river view, a dining room sufficient to seat 100 for dinner, a study, a recreation room, an attached four-car garage, and two rooms for hired help. The grounds will include a large swimming pool with bath house and sauna, a tennis court, and a separate parking area away from the house itself.

"It will be quite subdued," said architect Conrad Buff III. "That's what we think will be appropriate. We don't want marble halls ad infinitum. It should be a residence — not an embassy." As a residence, commented John Pastier, the *Los Angeles Times*' architecture critic, it is more "a huge Spanish tile roof with a house hung beneath to keep it from sailing away in a strong wind." The fault, Pastier suggested, lies not with the architect so much as with the client. Ostensibly, this is the citizens of California, but in actuality it has been the Reagans, and particularly Mrs. Reagan, he noted. "The result is predictable — what might look like Timeless Early California Spanish to a layman will look more like Late Suburban Country Club to a professionally trained eye . . . , a subtle and telling piece of self-satire."

State architect Worsley characterizes the concept as "traditional California architecture". "People," he said, "are always asking what style it is. It doesn't have style, it has class . . . ."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pollution-bond program – $200 million embarrassment

By Ed Salzman

Assemblyman John T. Knox of Richmond has a reputation for skillfully managing difficult bills through the Legislature, and he is especially accomplished if the proposals involve complex fiscal or legal concepts. For that reason, the California Chamber of Commerce approached Knox early in 1972 with a plan for helping the state's industrial firms meet the requirements of various state and local pollution-control agencies. Congress and the Internal Revenue Service had prompted this action by handing down rules allowing states to authorize the sale of tax-exempt bonds for pollution-control purposes. This would mean that, by using government's tax-exempt status, industries could save an estimated two percentage points in interest charges on loans needed to acquire this equipment. In surprisingly short order, Knox steered the constitutional amendment and its companion bill through the Legislature. And in November 1972, the voters approved Proposition 3 by a vote of 3,954,487 to 3,728,663. The California Pollution Control Financing Authority was in business, operated by five state officials, and had an initial authorization of $200 million available to industrial applicants.

As originally sold to the Legislature, the bond authority was supposed to help those firms that could not readily finance their own projects because of their limited borrowing capacity or the financial strain large borrowings would create for them. At one point in its torturous route through the legislative process, with Knox fighting alone against pressure from many sides, Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti put the proposal on the shelf. He feared that the plan was designed primarily to help some of the large oil companies headquartered in Knox's Contra Costa County district, notably Standard Oil of California. It was only after Knox assured the Assembly leadership that this was not the case and that the bill was sponsored by the state chamber that it was allowed to proceed. On the floor, the basic argument against the measure (presented by Democratic Assemblymen Alan Sieroty and John Dunlap) was that the ordinary Californian doesn't get any financial help to purchase anti-smog equipment, so why should the big corporations?

Who gets the low-cost loans

Here is a breakdown of the $185 million in tax-exempt bonds authorized by the California Pollution Control Financing Authority:

Standard Oil of California	$43.2 million
Union Oil	26.7 million
Mobil Oil	23.4 million
Southern California Edison	20.6 million
Atlantic Richfield	13.5 million
Fibreboard	13.3 million
Great Lakes Carbon	10.7 million
Simpson Lee Paper	10.3 million
Flintkote	5.3 million
Owens Corning Fiberglass	3.8 million
Owens Illinois	3.0 million
Allied Chemical	2.8 million
Monolith	2.6 million
Dart Industries	2.4 million
D G Shelter	1.8 million
Sebastopol Coop Canners	877,000
Barlow Company	278,000
Turlock Milling Company	200,000

An additional $15 million is available for authorization to small-business enterprises required to install anti-pollution equipment.

Source: Pollution Control Financing Authority

Big oil's benefit

As it happens, the program is an embarrassment to almost everyone connected with it. Almost all the first $185 million has gone to huge corporations. Standard Oil has been the biggest beneficiary; four petroleum companies received $106 million. And this came at a time when gasoline prices were skyrocketing and oil companies were reporting record profits.

Knox himself introduced legislation last month to change the direction of the program. He urged the Assembly Ways and Means Committee to reject a request for another $200 million made by the authority. Speaker Moretti had sent a letter February 10th to committee chairman Willie Brown stating: "I am frankly outraged at the performance of the authority to date, and its actions raise serious questions as to the value or effectiveness of any continuation of the program as it is presently constituted." Moretti urged that the additional $200 million be rejected and that the program be curtailed until three steps are taken:

- Expansion of the authority's membership to include two public members, one assemblyman and one senator.
- Revision of the eligibility requirements for applications so that small businesses will be favored. (The remaining $15 million from the first $200 million is earmarked for small business.)
- Establishment of a system of strict reporting to the Legislature.

The authority itself made it clear that it was not anxious to pursue the program but had merely submitted the re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quest for the additional authorization to place the issue before the Legislature. (Under an unusual law, either house of the Legislature can act to kill the request within 60 days, otherwise it is automatically approved.)

The authority consists of chairman Verne Orr, state director of finance; State Treasurer Ivy Baker Priest; Controller Houston I. Flournoy; W. W. Adams, chairman of the Water Resources Control Board; and Charles J. Conrad, chairman of the Air Resources Board. None of these officials had displayed any special interest in the Knox legislation that led to enactment of Proposition 3. Orr said he voted against the measure, and Treasurer Priest made it clear at the authority's first meeting that she envisioned the new bond authority as a threat to the state's good credit rating.

As the issue hit the Legislature, the only person who seemed to care about continued existence of the program was Knox. Even the Chamber of Commerce was not eager to claim parenthood of the program, saying only that it helped get it started in the early days. Knox said he was upset that the bulk of the funds had gone to corporations with substantial financial resources. But he emphasized that the authority should be improved, not abolished, to maintain a program that could be worthwhile.

A way out

Knox and his chief aide, Tom Willoughby, conducted a series of negotiating sessions with Orr and others in an effort to solve the problem. Clyde Macdonald of the Legislative Analyst's office proposed that the authority henceforth be required to finance projects that would do the most good in curbing pollution — even if the authority's staff must solicit applications. This met with Moretti's approval, and Knox prepared the proposal for introduction as a bill.

For the moment, then, the program will stay relatively dormant. Arthur Collins, executive officer for the authority, feels that no additional funds will be requested under the Reagan administration. Willoughby is slightly more optimistic, however. He prefers to say that the program is being slowed but might be shifted into high gear again a few months from now, if priorities can be straightened out.

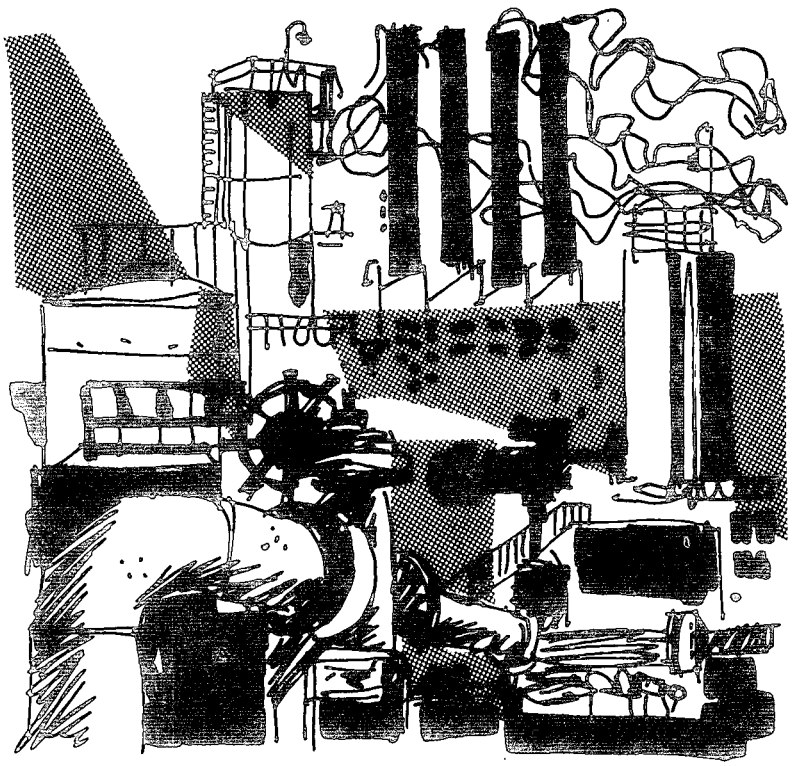
Credit risks

A major problem with operating the authority has been Priest's strong feeling that the credit of the state should not be endangered even though, technically, the corporations would be in debt and the bonds would not be secured by state taxes. Larger firms, like Standard Oil, obviously are a much better risk than some dairy farmer who needs help to prevent manure from leaching into a nearby stream.

Another consideration is to make it financially feasible for small firms — especially those that would not be good bonding risks — to participate. The problem is that the dairy farmer who needs $10,000 isn't about to face the red tape to get authorization for a slight reduction in interest, since the cost of processing an application could eat up savings. Knox has suggested that the authority solve this problem by pooling small firms to raise the amount of the bond issue to a more manageable amount and spread the risk among several corporations. In this way, for example, 100 dairy farmers could be combined into a single $1 million bond issue.

Reasons for survival

Despite the fact that the program is in deep trouble and that Knox is its only significant supporter in the Legislature, it may still survive for these reasons advanced by proponents:



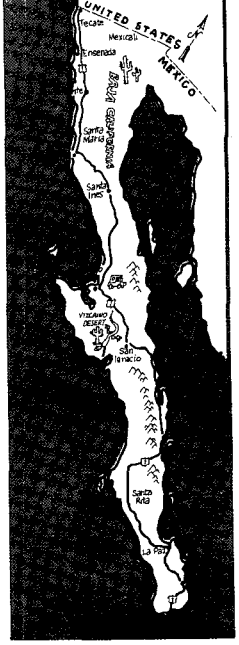
- California could be placed at a competitive disadvantage in developing industrial plants if tax-exempt pollution bonds are available in other states but not here.
- As a matter of principle, the public should help industry meet pollution standards because everyone benefits.
- Because business cannot always pass on the cost of government-required anti-pollution equipment, it is entitled to subsidized relief.
- The program will help clean up the environment by reducing the number of pollution variances sought by business firms.

Under ordinary circumstances, the pollution-control authority would be closing its books permanently. The authority itself is not enthused about the program. The state Senate has never shown any interest. The Assembly Speaker has attacked it. Business firms, especially small ones, are not clamoring for bond authorizations. And the author himself has urged that the law be changed before additional funds are cleared. But Assemblyman Knox is far from the ordinary legislator. He also is determined to keep the pollution-bond program alive. And Knox doesn't often lose legislative battles on issues he feels strongly about.

A conservative estimate . . .

The state Department of Conservation might take a page from its own *1973 Report* — in fact about 12 pages — and save its Division of Forestry a few trees. That's the amount of "white space" the editors lavished on their 20-page publication.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



How the state and Baja help each other

By MELANIE SPIER

The first paved road to run the entire 1,061-mile length of the Baja peninsula was opened late last year. Reaching from Tijuana on the United States border to Cabo San Lucas on the southernmost tip of Baja California, the ribbon of asphalt opens up a land previously accessible only by sea and air, or by a road so primitive that only specially equipped vehicles could hope to run its course successfully. But now, Baja is expected to draw hordes of American tourists, hunters, nature-lovers and investors.

Meanwhile, Baja remains a geographically rugged area, desolate and sparsely developed. Until recently, few provisions had been made for the influx of travelers, and Baja's readiness to handle increased tourist trade is questionable at best (as a number of motorists learned to their discomfort over the last Christmas holiday when their vehicles exhausted the region's meager gasoline ration). So visitors will continue to run a gamut of risks, from being stranded miles from food, lodging and fuel to being swindled by deceptive peddlers of Mexican real estate.

California's foreign affair

Attacking such problems is the job of the Commission of the Californias. This little-known body, California's lone permanent venture into the realm of international relations, concentrates generally on promoting favorable economic and cultural relations. The commission, which is headed by Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke and his Baja counterpart, usually holds three formal meetings a year, but the bulk of the work is accomplished informally by committees and staff members. The commission can point to a long list of accomplishments, despite two major limitations — federal jurisdiction in the general field of international relations and lack of support from the state Legislature.

The commission was established in 1964 to improve economic and cultural relations with the state of Baja California. The law was changed three years later to extend commission activity to the territory of Baja California Sur, the southern end of the peninsula. In addition to the tourist problem, the commission currently is engaged in activities relating to drug abuse, agricultural assistance, ecological and health matters, and cultural exchanges.

The California delegation consists of seven public members, 10 legislators, and 38 representatives of specific interests. The California group is headquartered in San Diego, where two staff members are based. The part-time executive director is Ignacio E. Lozano, editor of a Spanish-language newspaper, and the full-time deputy director is Geoffrey L. Clark.

Tourist facilities

At the commission's recommendation, the Mexican government has launched a study of location of tourist accommodations along the transpeninsular highway, where motels, service stations, campsites, maps and legal aid are in extremely short supply. The commission also has started a campaign to establish a United States consulate in La Paz and reduce the toll rate on the Tijuana-Ensenada highway, a favorite vacation route for Southern Californians.

Through commission efforts, conveniences have also been provided for yachtsmen and flyers. Last year, operating hours for private aircraft were extended at La Paz airport, where irregular service had been both dangerous and frustrating to airborne visitors. The commission also has been instrumental in obtaining an easing of restrictions on charter craft flying into Baja. This is no small step, considering that Mexican airlines have lobbied hard for protection against competition. Airfield facilities and runway conditions have generally been improved and standardized. The commission is now working with the California Department of Navigation and Ocean Development to obtain navigational equipment that will aid both flyers and boat operators along the Baja coast.

While the commission can point to an impressive list of accomplishments, there is general agreement on both sides of the border that the prime virtues of the operation are the good will and improved communication that have developed between the governments of California, the state of Baja California and the territory of Baja California Sur. Deputy Director Clark points out that the efforts at constant communication are especially important at the California-Baja border. The commission has sponsored luncheons to which Mexican and American officials from such departments as customs, agriculture and immigration are invited. Municipal Judge Lewis F. Sherman of Berkeley, a commission member and frequent visitor to Baja, claims that such activities have considerably improved the attitudes of border-station employees. Other successful efforts to improve relations:

The author, a student at the University of California at Davis, completed this article while serving as an intern with the Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

- U.S. lifeguards at border beaches can now enter Mexican water for rescues.
- California-bound goods unloaded in Baja ports met with little red tape during the American shipping strike of 1972.
- The crackdown on drug smuggling along the entire Mexican border, called "Operation Intercept", met with far less negative response in Baja than in any other Mexican border entry point.
- Mexican authorities have eased clearance requirements for exportation of the remains of United States citizens who die in Mexico. (A specific problem used to involve disposition of the bodies of persons who drowned off California but washed up on Baja beaches. Mexican officials now merely transport the remains to California soil.)

Drug-abuse efforts

The commission in recent years has been concentrating on the problem of drug abuse. Some commission members feel that the drug-abuse campaign launched three years ago by San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson has been the commission's most valuable project. The program started with a seminar with representatives of both countries and resulted in the development and wide distribution of a booklet entitled *Drugs and the Law*. The publication compares drug laws for the United States, Mexico, California and Baja California. The commission has sponsored conferences on drugs conducted by the state Department of Education, and was responsible for obtaining from the state Department of Motor Vehicles a computer now used at the San Ysidro border station. The computer is used to determine whether cars entering California have previously been linked to narcotics smuggling. The Mexican government has enthusiastically supported this operation.

The commission has also been active in several other fields:

Environment. Under the commission's sponsorship, a conference was held last October to marshal forces to protect Baja's beauty and natural resources. The commission seeks to prevent overfishing of the Gulf of California (which has been called the world's largest fish trap). Partly through commission action, the United States and Mexico reached an agreement on how to combat salinity problems in the Colorado River, which flows into Mexico. The same agreement binds the Mexican government to construct sewage-treatment plants in Mexicali to help eliminate the flow of raw garbage northward toward the Salton Sea in Southern California.

Agriculture. The commission is attempting to locate supplies of scarce phosphate fertilizers. Both countries have recently signed an agreement to cooperate in the eradication of pests. (The Department of Agriculture works as far as 200 miles south of the border to eradicate farm pests.) The commission has also urged the governments of both nations to rescind an agreement prohibiting shipment of avocados into border areas. This agreement works some economic hardships on Baja, but avocados are now considered free of pests and disease. In general, Mexico gets most of the aid in the agricultural field, but agriculture on both sides of the border benefits ultimately.

Cultural Exchange. Last year, at the suggestion of Governor Milton Castellanos of Baja California, a sports-exchange program was initiated. California coaches will visit Baja schools to teach football, basketball, baseball, swimming and track, and high-school teams will eventually exchange visits. The commission's cultural affairs committee is trying to launch a student-exchange program; it also works with the Sister City Association in a teacher-exchange program that has, so far at least, proven successful. But attempts to exchange professionals has been no more fruitful than the student program (although a group of commissioners is attempting to develop a school of dentistry at the University of Baja California in Mexicali). Drug experts of both nations have moved freely across the border.

Commerce. The commission has conducted seminars to educate those interested in economic development and investment in Baja California. It also alerts the California Attorney General to any deceptive advertisements involving Mexican land sales. (Mexican law restricts alien land ownership to 49 percent of a given parcel.) The commission now is encouraging renewal of passenger train service between San Diego and Tijuana. Lieutenant Governor Reinecke also considers it significant that the commission has taken formal stands in Washington on tariff questions involving Mexico. (Baja California officials are upset about U.S. tariffs being placed on goods that originate in the United States, are processed in Mexico, then return across the border.)

How effective?

Despite this list of accomplishments, the work of the Commission of the Californias is not easily assessed The Legislative Analyst makes no major effort to determine whether the commission's annual budget of $44,000 is well spent, considering it instead as merely an adjunct to the Lieutenant Governor's office.

The commission has not been successful in its efforts to influence the course of legislation. According to Deputy Director Clark, the commission lobbied repeatedly but unsuccessfully on behalf of stricter drug laws. One explanation of why the commission lacks legislative support is that it receives loyal support from only two or three legislators, and perhaps for good reason. As Senator Craig Biddle observed, the commission simply cannot rate highly on a lawmaker's list of priorities. The commission may be valuable as an ambassador of good will, Biddle explained, but as little else.

On the other hand, the Mexican delegation has viewed the commission as a somewhat more valuable asset. That fact alone may make the project worthwhile. And with more Californians bound to cross south via Baja's new road, it's only a matter of time before the problems they encounter or generate come to the attention of their representatives in Sacramento.

Now the February issue is sold out . . .

Success is killing us. First we sold out the November issue, and now we've run out of February's. Accordingly, we'd like to make the same offer for the February issue that we made for November's (which still holds): Send us a copy of either of these issues in good condition and we'll credit your subscription for two addtional months or pay you $2.

Send your issue or issues to *California Journal,* 1617 10th St., Sacramento 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Significant court actions

Osteopaths are physicians

The state Supreme Court has overturned a 1962 law prohibiting the state from licensing graduates of osteopathic colleges as physicians and surgeons. The court, in a unanimous decision authored by Justice Raymond Sullivan, declared that the law violated the equal-protection provisions of the California and U.S. Constitutions. As a result, graduates of osteopathic colleges will be eligible for licensing as physicians and surgeons by the state Osteopathic Board of Examiners. California had been the only state to prohibit such licensing.

The case, *D'Amico* v. *Board of Examiners*, was brought by eight graduates of out-of-state colleges of osteopathy. They were practicing either in other states or in federal enclaves in California as members of the armed forces, and contended that the 1962 law discriminated against them. The court agreed. It found that there is "no rational relationship between the protection of the public health and the exclusion of all medical practitioners who have received their training in an osteopathic rather than an allopathic college and hold D.O. rather than M.D. degrees."

The decision climaxed six years of litigation and upheld trial-court rulings. (The overturned law had not affected osteopaths licensed prior to its enactment. There are nearly 300 osteopaths still practicing in California.)

Special Offer

1973 Index & Binder

Rising costs have forced an increase in the price for *California Journal* annual binders. Hereafter, these attractive, gold-stamped Naugahyde binders will cost $7.00, plus tax.

However, if you act now, we will send you a 1973 binder and the cumulative 1973 index, for only $6.00, plus 30 cents tax (a saving for both of $2.50).

We can't bill you at this special rate, so please send your check or Master Charge account number now to *California Journal* Binder Offer, 1617 10th Street, Sacramento, CA 95814. You will receive your binder and index by return mail.

A defendant's right

The court ruled, in *Yurko on Habeas Corpus*, that a trial court must advise a criminal defendant of any additional punishment he may face in admitting to prior felony convictions before or during his trial. The trial court also must warn the defendant that he is waiving several constitutional rights by admitting a prior felony in such cases, the court said. The ruling will apply only to future cases involving prior felony convictions.

The unanimous decision, written by Chief Justice Donald Wright, involved Edward Yurko, who was on trial for burglary and was also charged with three prior felony convictions. Yurko admitted the prior convictions and because of them was sentenced to life imprisonment. Yurko contended that he was not sufficiently advised of the constitutional rights involved.

The court declared that a criminal defendant is entitled to the same constitutional protections when admitting a prior felony as when entering a guilty plea. If Yurko had denied the prior felony convictions, the court said, he would have been entitled to a trial on that issue.

Cruel and unusual punishment

In a 5-to-2 decision, the court declared unconstitutional a part of the penalty requirements in narcotics law violations. Justice Burke authored the opinion in *In re Foss*, and was joined by Chief Justice Wright and Justices Stanley Mosk, Mathew Tobriner and Sullivan. Justices William Clark and Marshall McComb dissented. Burke's decision upheld the 10-years-to-life imprisonment sentence required for a second narcotics conviction, but struck down that part of the law restricting the possibility of parole until after at least 10 years were served in prison. That amounted to cruel and unusual punishment, prohibited by the state and federal constitutions, the court said.

The case involved Robert Foss, who was convicted of five counts of furnishing heroin to his former supplier. Foss received no money, and said he was only trying to relieve the supplier's withdrawal symptoms. Foss had been convicted of heroin possession 14 years before. As a result, he received a 10-years-to-life sentence.

Justice Burke wrote that the law "shocks the conscience and offends fundamental notions of human dignity." Justice Clark countered, however, that a trial judge has the authority to strike the prior conviction if he considers the punishment too severe and that the matter should be left within the discretion of the trial judge.

No one-way deals

The court has declared that a bargain is a bargain when a criminal defendant agrees to plead guilty in a plea negotiation approved by the trial court. In a unanimous opinion, the court said that, if the trial court withdrew its approval of the agreement, then the defendant was entitled to withdraw his guilty plea and must be so advised.

The decision, written by Justice Burke, came in *People* v. *Johnson*. Johnson, charged with forgery, had agreed to plead guilty in return for a lighter sentence. After Johnson pleaded guilty, the trial court discovered that he had concealed his true name and past criminal record, and immediately sentenced him to state prison. Under the bargaining agreement, Johnson was to have received a suspended sentence.

Johnson asked the Supreme Court to hold the trial court to its original agreement, but the court declined, ruling instead that he could withdraw his guilty plea. The trial court was justified in repudiating the agreement, the court said, because of Johnson's conceit.

—Compiled by Dennis Campbell

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Democratic Assemblyman **Ken Meade** of Oakland, chairman of the Assembly Transportation Committee, was knocked unconscious and hospitalized as a result of a scuffle with fellow Democrat **Louis Papan** of Daly City, vice chairman of the committee. Versions of the conflict differ, but two issues were involved — a Meade bill on regulating the gasoline industry, which Papan opposed, and the struggle over a successor to Speaker **Bob Moretti.** Meade is backing Assemblyman **Willie Brown** of San Francisco, while Papan is a close ally of Assemblyman **Leo McCarthy** of San Francisco [see "The constant quest for the speakership, *CJ*, March 1974, p. 95].

Both party caucuses in the Senate obtained new chairmen. Democrat **Mervyn Dymally** and Republican **John Harmer** resigned their leadership posts to campaign for Lieutenant Governor. Senator **Nicholas Petris** of Oakland was chosen to succeed Dymally in a not-so-harmonious meeting, and an effort to maintain unity led to the establishment of a vice-chairmanship, which went to Senator **Ralph Dills.** Petris is a backer of President pro Tempore **James R. Mills,** while Dills is in the camp of Senator **George Zenovich,** who is attempting to take Mills' job. The Republicans selected Senator **Dennis Carpenter** of Orange County to replace Harmer. Carpenter, former GOP state chairman, won the job on a 17-1 vote. Republicans also selected freshman Senator **Clare Berryhill** of Modesto to replace **Robert J. Lagomarsino** on the powerful Rules Committee after Lagomarsino was elected to Congress.

Freshman Democratic Senator **Alan Robbins** of Van Nuys filed suit against his former campaign manager, **Jack McGrath,** for $98,000. Robbins claims he was told by McGrath that he would not have to spend more than $100,000 to win a special election last year, but instead spent $198,000. McGrath countersued for $15,000 that he claims the Senator owes him . . . . Assemblyman **Charles Warren** of Los Angeles was named outstanding environmental legislator of 1973 by the Planning and Conservation League, which also gave a special award to Speaker Moretti. Warren was the prime author of a major energy planning and conservation bill vetoed by Governor Reagan.

Representative **Yvonne Brathwaite Burke** and her baby, **Autumn Roxanne,** are the cover girls in the March issue of Ebony magazine. The accompanying article, by the congresswoman, is entitled "The kind of world I want for my child."

In a rare recommendation, Legislative Analyst **A. Alan Post** urged in a report to the Senate Public Utilities and Corporations Committee that **B. R. Stokes,** general manager of the Bay Area Rapid Transit District, be fired. Post said the removal of Stokes is the only way to assure responsible management of the cash-short transit system. Stokes replied that Post was participating in a "politically motivated" campaign to fire him . . . . **Frank Chambers,** BART's representative in Sacramento, and a former high official in the Brown administration, will retire from his $40,000-a-year post this month.

Charles O'Brien, state chairman of San Francisco Mayor **Joseph Alioto's** gubernatorial campaign, reported that he would no longer play an active part in the campaign because of "differences in style" with the candidate and his closest adviser, cousin **Frank Alioto.** Media advisor **Sandy Weiner** also departed over "a conflict of philosophy over who is going to run the campaign."

Former Mayor **Sam Yorty** of Los Angeles launched a talk show Saturday mornings on Los Angeles station KGBS . . . . Los Angeles City Councilman **Arthur K. Snyder** easily defeated a recall attempt, 38 percent yes to 62 percent no . . . . Former Democratic Congressman **Cecil R. King** of Inglewood, co-author of the Medicare bill, died at 76 . . . . Former Democratic Assemblyman **Jack T. Casey** of Bakersfield, author of the Medi-Cal act, died at 65 . . . . The ashes of **Caryl Chessman** have been scattered at sea 14 years after his execution, in accordance with his wishes. State law had previously prohibited the scattering, according to Chessman's attorney, **Rosalie Asher** of Sacramento.

APPOINTMENTS: **John P. Vukasin Jr.** of Oakland, a member of the Public Utilities Commission, to the District Court of Appeal in San Francisco, subject to confirmation by the state Commission on Judicial Appointments . . . . **Catherine Hearst** of Atherton and **Joseph A. Moore Jr.** of San Francisco to new 16-year terms on the University of California Regents . . . . **Claudia H. Hampton** of Los Angeles and **Yvonne W. Larsen** of San Diego as Trustees of the State University and Colleges . . . . **Peter D. Hannaford,** Piedmont advertising executive, as Governor Reagan's director of public affairs . . . .**Richard L. Camilli,** former executive officer of the state Personnel Board, as director of the Department of Employment Development . . . . **Robert L. Toms,** a Los Angeles attorney, as state Commissioner of Corporations . . . . **Robert W. Sigg,** chairman of the Unemployment Insurance Appeals Board, as commissioner of the Workmen's Compensation Appeals Board . . . . Eighty-one-year-old **Verne Pomeroy,** former manager of the Chino Chamber of Commerce, as field representative to Senator **Ruben Ayala** of San Bernardino County . . . **Robert E. Lovett,** San Marino businessman, to the state Toll Bridge Authority.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Making laws and pumping gas

The price and availability of gasoline — and especially the plight of the service-station operator — became a prime subject of interest in the Legislature as many Californians faced long lines at the pumps and the odd-even license-plate-number sales system was instituted in several urban counties. The Assembly Transportation Committee started processing a package of bills designed to protect the independent service-station operator from the large petroleum corporations — and to protect the public from both.

The Assembly passed one bill in the package, AB 3101 by Democratic floor leader Jack Fenton, allowing franchised dealers to buy from any source when they cannot obtain fuel supplies from their parent companies. The measure also would prohibit the parent firms from coercing dealers to buy their brand of tires, batteries and other accessories. Committee Chairman Ken Meade said the pivotal bill in the package is his AB 3103. It would establish the Service Station Dealers Board to regulate the industry and protect the public from unscrupulous manipulations within the industry. Another key proposal, not part of the committee package, would prohibit service stations from selling gas unless the posted price was visible from the street.

Floor activity in the Senate and Assembly was at the low level typical of March. Fiscal committees were working on the state budget, however. Consideration of the University of California appropriation was resumed after U.C. officials satisfactorily clarified a ruling that had been interpreted as an effort to prevent University employees from communicating with lawmakers.

The Legislature rejected attempts by Senator Ralph Dills to prevent the sales tax from rising one penny to six cents on the dollar April 1st. Dills was opposed by both Assembly Speaker Moretti and Governor Reagan.

VOTING RECORDS

Listed here are the votes of legislators on recent major roll calls through March 17th. Votes selected involve issues of major importance, issues on which there was a major division of opinion, or both.

Y — Yes N — No
*** — Absent or not voting**

A ⅔ vote is required for urgency measures, constitutional amendments, and appropriations.

Assembly: 41 votes required for passage of bills requiring a simple majority.
⅔ = 54 votes.

Senate: 21 votes required for passage of bills requiring a simple majority.
⅔ = 27 votes.

SENATE

EDUCATION

SB 1264 (Moscone) — Requires school districts to apply for state and federal funds for school breakfasts and lunches. Attempted override of Governor's veto failed, 23-13 (27 votes required).

AB 468 (Maddy) — Grants mandatory permanent status for teachers after three complete consecutive school years of service. Passed 21-12.

ENVIRONMENT

AB 2284 (Moretti) — Increased civil penalty for certain air-pollution violations. Failed 16-16. (Reconsideration granted.)

EMPLOYMENT

AB 276 (Burton) — Requires state to reimburse private employers half of salaries of Vietnam veterans they hire for 18 months, and appropriates $5 million. Passed 33-2.

HEALTH

SB 1552 (Marks) — Prohibits the Department of Health from disclosing the identity of patients participating in Methadone programs. Passed 22-16.

HOUSING

SB 1495 (Marks) — Authorizes all cities, counties, redevelopment agencies, and housing authorities to make long-term, low-interest loans to finance residential rehabilitation in depressed areas. Passed 28-5.

AB 2559 (Bee) — Prohibits a landlord from refusing to rent or sell to a person who is physically disabled on the basis that such a person is partially or wholly dependent upon the income of his or her spouse. Passed 25-3.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

AB 1346 (Knox) — Increases from 70 days to 90 the time in which a hearing on a proposed local agency formation must

SENATE (21 D, 19 R)	SB 1264	AB 468	AB 2284	AB 276	SB 1552	SB 1495	AB 2559	AB 1346	AB 198	AB 1304
Alquist (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ayala (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Behr (R)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Beilenson (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Berryhill (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	*	N	Y	*
Biddle (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bradley (R)	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
Carpenter (R)	N	N	N	N	N	*	N	N	*	N
Collier (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	N	*	Y	*	N	
Cusanovich (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Deukmejian (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Dills (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	*	
Dymally (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	N	
Gregorio (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	
Grunsky (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Harmer (R)	*	*	*	N		*	*	*	Y	*
Holmdahl (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	
Kennick (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lagomarsino (R)	*	N	*	N		*	*	*	*	*
Marks (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Marler (R)	N	N	N	N	N	*	Y	*	Y	*
Mills (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Moscone (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	
Nejedly (R)	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	*	Y	Y
Petris (D)	Y	*	*	Y	Y	*	*	*	Y	
Richardson (R)	*	*	*	N		N	*	*	N	*
Robbins (D)	Y	Y	Y	*		Y	*	Y	*	N
Roberti (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rodda (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Schrade (R)	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Short (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y	*	Y	*	N
Song (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y	*	Y	*	N
Stevens (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Stiern (D)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Stull (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N
Walsh (D)	*	*	*	*		*	Y	*	*	*
Way (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Wedworth (D)	Y	*	*	Y	N	Y	*	N	Y	*
Whetmore (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N	*	Y	N	N
Zenovich (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be held after the filing of a proposal. *Passed 27-6.*

TAXATION

AB 198 (Gonsalves) — Provides for one-time filing of affidavit and claim for homeowners' property-tax exemption, instead of annually. Grants 80 percent of exemption to a person who failed to file on time but filed before December 1st. Passed 29-3.

AB 1304 (Russell) — Ratifies the multi-state tax compact which provides for uniform administration and allocation of income taxes and creates an Interstate Tax Commission to study state and local taxes. Passed 21-9.

ASSEMBLY

EDUCATION

SB 71 (Gregorio) — Authorizes school districts to adopt rules and regulations permitting students to smoke on high-school campuses. Passed 41-34.

AB 2818 (Chacon) — Authorizes schools to implement nutrition programs for the elderly. Passed 65-6.

ASSEMBLY (49 D, 31 R)	SB 71 AB 2818 AB 2975	HR 112 ACR 183 ACA 40		SB 71 AB 2818 AB 2975	HR 112 ACR 183 ACA 40
Alatorre (D)	YYY	YYY	Johnson, R. (R)	NYY	YYY
Antonovich (R)	NNN	YYN	Kapiloff (D)	Y*Y	Y*Y
Arnett (R)	YYN	YNN	Karabian (D)	NYY	YYY
Badham (R)	NNN	NNN	Keene (D)	YY*	*YY
Bagley (R)	Y*Y	Y**	Keysor (D)	NYY	YYY
Bannai (R)	NYY	NNY	Knox (D)	YY*	NNY
Bee (D)	NYY	NYY	Lancaster (R)	NYY	YYN
Berman (D)	YYY	*YY	Lanterman (R)	NYY	YYN
Beverly (R)	YYY	*Y*	Lewis (R)	NYY	N*Y
Boatwright (D)	*YY	YYY	Lockyer (D)	YYY	YYY
Bond (R)	NYY	YY*	MacDonald (D)	NYY	YYY
Briggs (R)	NYY	YYN	MacGillivray (R)	NYY	YYY
Brown (D)	**Y	N*Y	Maddy (R)	YYY	N*Y
Burke (R)	NNN	YYN	McAlister (D)	NYY	YYY
Burton (D)	YYY	YYY	McCarthy (D)	YYY	YYY
Carter (R)	NYY	YNN	McLennan (R)	N*N	Y*N
Chacon (D)	NYY	YYY	Meade (D)	YYY	NY*
Chappie (R)	YYY	*NY	Miller (D)	YYY	*YY
Cline (R)	NNN	YYN	Mobley (R)	YYY	YYY
Collier (R)	N**	YYN	Montoya (D)	YYY	*YY
Cory (D)	YYY	*YY	Moretti (D)	YYY	Y*Y
Craven (R)	YYY	***	Murphy (R)	YYY	NNY
Cullen (D)	*YY	*NY	Nimmo (R)	NYY	*Y*
Davis (D)	NY*	YNY	Papan (D)	NYY	*YY
Deddeh (D)	YYY	YYY	Powers (D)	YYY	NYY
Dixon (D)	YYY	*YY	Priolo (R)	YYY	YYY
Duffy (R)	NYY	N*N	Quimby (D)	*YY	YYY
Dunlap (D)	YYY	YYY	Ralph (D)	YYY	*YY
Fenton (D)	NYY	YYY	Russell (R)	NNY	YNN
Fong (D)	*YY	YYY	Seeley (R)	N*N	Y*N
Foran (D)	NYY	NYY	Sieroty (D)	NYY	*YY
Garcia (D)	YYY	*YY	Thomas (D)	YYY	YYY
Gonsalves (D)	Y*Y	N*N	Thurman (D)	NYY	YYY
Gonzales (D)	YYY	YYY	Vasconcellos (D)	Y*Y	**Y
Greene, B. (D)	YYY	YYY	Wakefield (R)	NNN	YYN
Greene, L. (D)	YYY	*YY	Warren (D)	YY*	Y*Y
Hayden (R)	YYY	YNY	Waxman (D)	YYY	**Y
Holoman (D)	Y*Y	***	Wilson (D)	NYY	YYY
Ingalls (D)	YYY	YYY	Wood (R)	NYY	YYY
Johnson, H. (D)	YYY	NYY	Z'berg (D)	YYY	YYY

FARM LABOR

AB 2975 (Fenton) — Prohibits operating a farm-labor vehicle without a farm-labor driver's certificate. Requires annual inspection of all farm-labor vehicles by Highway Patrol. *Passed 67-8.*

LEGISLATURE

HR 112 (Briggs) — Requires Assembly committee hearing rooms in the Capitol to be divided into smoking and non-smoking sections for spectators and committee members. Adopted 47-14.

ACR 183 (Burton) — Permits a legislator to introduce a bill during the second half of a two-year session if it was defeated or vetoed during the first year. Passed 54-11.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

ACA 40 (Brown) — Proposed constitutional amendment to repeal provisions prohibiting any low-rent housing project from being constructed until a majority of the voters in a city or county approve it. Adopted 57-16.

CALIFORNIA CALENDAR

Meetings of the following state boards and commissions are listed each month only if a meeting is scheduled: Trustees of the California State University and Colleges; California Community Colleges Board of Governors; California Council on Criminal Justice; Board of Education; Highway Commission; Little Hoover Commission; Parks and Recreation Commission; University of California Board of Regents.

April 8	**Park and Recreation Commission.** Hilton Inn, San Francisco International Airport. 10 a.m.
April 10-11	**Air Resources Board.** Junipero Serra Building, Los Angeles. 9:30 a.m.
April 11-12	**Board of Education.** State Building, Fresno. 9 a.m.
April 17	**Council on Criminal Justice.** El Rancho Hotel, West Sacramento. 10:30 a.m.
April 17-18	**Board of Governors of California Community Colleges.** Hanalei Hotel, San Diego. 9:30 a.m.
April 18-19	**Highway Commission.** Merced.
April 24-25	**Commission on Peace Officers Standards and Training.** La Playa Hotel, Carmel. 10 a.m.
April 25-27	**Law Revision Commission.** Los Angeles. 7 p.m.
April 30	**Board of Equalization.** Room 102, 1020 N St., Sacramento. 2 p.m.
May 2-3	**Conference on California's Public Sector Labor Law.** Americana Hotel, Los Angeles.
May 3	**Fish and Game Commission.** 101 Ash St., San Diego. 9 a.m.
May 8-9	**Air Resources Board.** State Office Building, 455 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco. 9:30 a.m.
May 10	**Park and Recreation Commission.** Fort Bragg.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reader response to press corps survey

'. . . a disturbing lack of faith'

It was indeed sad to see how many reporters refused to participate in your press survey. ["Political profile of Capitol press corps", *CJ*, February 1974.] That these journalists, men who diligently search each press release for its inner meaning, would decline to cooperate with a fellow reporter shows a disturbing lack of faith in their own profession and the reading public.

I was particularly appalled by the silence of Robert Fairbanks. This bloodhound of the Fourth Estate has built his career on the asking of highly personal questions and the extracting of full and forthright answers. Yet he flees from the most gentle probing of his own beliefs.

How can Mr. Fairbanks possibly justify his refusal to speak?

Richard C. Thomson

Thomson is an assistant to state Senator Alfred Song.

'. . . your article was unfair to me . . .'

I am writing because I believe that your article was unfair to me and maybe others who did not answer your survey questions. While I have no quarrel with being identified among those who did not "cooperate", I believe that your article tended to stigmatize us noncooperators and that therefore — in fairness — you should have presented my reasons for such deplorable behavior.

My reasons begin with the question you set for yourself, taken from the lead paragraph of your article: "Are reporters covering the state Capitol virtually all Democrats, placing an anti-Republican brand on the reports disseminated to the reading, viewing and listening public?"

To me, there's only one way to answer that question: Check each reporter's party affiliation (which you did) and then examine his coverage for evidence of political bias (which you didn't). If you had taken on that latter task, admittedly a big one, I would have been pleased to answer any questions regarding my performance. But you avoided all that work. Instead, you assumed you could assess the product (Is the coverage fair or unfair to Republicans?) by assessing the political attitudes of the men and women who produced it.

In my opinion, that's an absolutely false assumption, an example of sloppy thinking that underlines too many observations about the press. I guess we've all heard in one way or another that the *New York Times* (a sort of symbol in all this) is unfair to the Nixon administration because it's staffed and managed by a bunch of eastern liberals. But the only evidence I've ever seen on that subject was an article in William Buckley's *National Review*, a magazine by and for conservatives, saying that an examination of *Times* coverage on several major events showed that its stories were generally fair to all points of view. So maybe the *Times* is run by eastern liberals, or maybe it's run by baboons. But that says nothing about the fairness of its coverage.

Okay, you may say, maybe you can't measure fairness by looking only at the prejudices and opinions of the men or baboons who run the show. But those prejudices and opinions seem to count for something because, as you point out in your article, 83 percent of the reporters who answered your questions said their personal views affect what they write.

So what else is new? Was there ever a man or woman on this Earth who didn't act on the basis of what you call "personal beliefs, attitudes and opinions"? To say that reporters do so is to say nothing at all. Again, if you want to know whether a reporter is fair or not, you must look at his or her work.

Because all this was clear in advance, I was convinced that your survey was based on false assumptions and that by asking me to cooperate you were in effect asking me to endorse them. Remember, you were not asking for an ordinary interview. You wanted me to help create an event (a survey) which you would then interview — so to speak — for your story. Under those conditions, I chose not to go along.

Robert S. Fairbanks

Fairbanks is a member of the state Capitol bureau of the Los Angeles Times. *Neither Fairbanks nor any other correspondent was told specifically what use would be made of the interviews or whether an analysis of coverage would be made. Correspondents were informed that they would not be quoted by name and that the information was being obtained to form a composite picture of the press corps.*

Cannon, continued from page 143

ley's office ran 4-1 against resignation, and some called Buckley "traitor" or "nut". The *Washington Post* opposed resignation. No prominent conservative politician followed Buckley's lead in publicly opposing the President.

But the House of Representatives is listening to a different drummer. All congressmen know they face an impeachment vote before election. Most Republicans are sick about what is happening to their party and to their own careers, and almost all of them share with the Democrats the view that the political landscape would be immediately altered by the ascension of Gerry Ford. Few congressmen would vote to impeach Nixon on these grounds, or indeed on any grounds unless the evidence is presented to them, but they have now come to think of impeachment as a respectable corrective for what Buckley called "the crisis of the regime." Buckley has helped make the President's removal a thinkable notion for conservatives. And it is the acceptance of this notion that is the pre-condition for impeachment if the evidence is ambivalent, as it almost certainly seems to be.

Buckley called for resignation. What he gave momentum to, however, is the growing effort in Congress to remove President Nixon by the remedy provided for in the Constitution.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE...

By Lou Cannon

Keepers of the flame

The Nixon White House always has rejoiced in its enemies, or "adversaries" as they are known in post-Watergate euphemism, but there is little joy in Mudville these days about the opposition of Senator James Buckley. Next to a denunciation from Barry Goldwater or from Ronald Reagan, there is nothing that could have galled the White House as much as Buckley's call for resignation, and all the more so because it was the administration's "radic-lib" campaign of 1970 that enabled Buckley to become the junior senator from New York. Deep down, the administration had always counted upon the conservatives not to abandon Richard Nixon when the going got rough, no matter how much they disapproved of Watergate or the latest unbalanced budget. The White House survivors agree, essentially, with the view of their former Office of Economic Opportunity dismantler, Howard Phillips, that conservatives are "the crucial component" of the President's support. "What Buckley has done," said Phillips, "is pull a plug on the President's most important political reservoir. It doesn't mean that all the water will flow out. It does mean that conservatives will reassess whether the issues they care most about can be served by continued support for President Nixon."

Privately, many conservatives in Congress were delighted at Buckley's statement, even though Goldwater and Reagan, among others, had tried to talk him out of making it. On a not-for-attribution basis, many rank-and-file conservative congressmen expressed admiration for Buckley's stand; publicly, these congressmen voiced respect for Buckley's sincerity and disagreement with his position. "A number of those 27 percent supporting the President also are supporting me," said one conservative House member who won last time by a narrow margin. "I'm glad Buckley's saying it, but I can't."

* * *

One conservative whose public expressions came out somewhat bolder than this, while not embracing resignation, was Representative John Rousselot of San Marino. Rousselot has come a long way since 1962, when he worked for the John Birch Society, which was hot stuff in California, and Richard Nixon was jettisoning the Birchers in an effort to straddle the center in his unsuccessful gubernatorial race against Pat Brown. Rousselot lost that year, too, although he returned to Congress in June 1970 and now faces a future that seems considerably brighter than Nixon's.

Still technically a Bircher, though not since 1966 an employee of the society, Rousselot at 47 is a genial, well-informed congressman who has gradually gained the respect of his Republican colleagues. He is now an officer of the 70-member group of House conservatives known as the Republican Steering Committee and the director of a GOP public-relations training program. Like a number of people in the old Nixon White House, Rousselot is a Christian Scientist who outworks many of his colleagues and neither smokes nor drinks. Unlike the Haldeman crowd, Rousselot has a sense of humor and is motivated by broader impulses than the Nixon cult. Along with most other conservatives, he is appalled by the revelations of Watergate while somewhat reluctant to get out in front in the attack on the President.

"Conservatives don't want to lead the charge," says Rousselot. "They don't want to ask for a public hanging in the square. But there is quite a lot of disgust at what has been going on." Rousselot spoke what is on the minds of many Republicans of any ideology when he predicted that the President might reassess his position if the House votes an impeachment resolution. "If the House did in fact vote impeachment . . . . and the Senate started the proceedings and it became obvious that events were going against the President, he might take another view of resignation," Rousselot said. "Maybe this is what Wilbur Mills was trying to say."

* * *

It is a difficult period for the keepers of the conservative flame. On the one hand, they have little use for Nixon and many wish they had never supported him in the first place. (One of the loudest bursts of applause at a recent political conference of the American Conservative Union and Young Americans for Freedom came when ACU President M. Stanton Evans referred to the "mistake we made in Miami in 1968.") Most conservatives also are angered by Nixon's deficit budget and annoyed by his seeming support of a liberalized legal services program.

On the other hand, conservatives are genuinely fearful of what they regard as the radical surgery of impeachment and the precedent it might set for a future President held at bay by a Democratic Congress and the "liberal" media. This principled opposition, and a general inclination to define impeachable conduct very narrowly, is accompanied by the reluctance of many congressmen to risk their own political necks by appearing to join Nixon's opponents in the impeachment proceedings. They are thus driven by the contradictory logic of their position to a secret preference — or an open one in Buckley's case — for the least constitutional solution of all, the so-called remedy of resignation.

At first, the inherent illogic of resignation seemed to work in favor of the White House. Letters to Buck-

Please see **Cannon,** page 142

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Other *California Journal* Publications

These other *California Journal* publications may be useful to you in following California government and politics:

Annual

The *1973-74 California Government and Politics Annual* is a 100-page compilation of *Journal* articles focusing on the Legislature, executive branch, judiciary, local government, budget and taxes, parties and elections, lobbying, education, and the energy crisis, among other issues. Designed primarily for college classroom use, the *Annual* provides a convenient and up-to-date summary of California government and politics. *$2.75 plus tax.*

Roster

The 12-page *1974 Roster and Government Guide* provides a listing of all state elected officials, their addresses and telephone numbers, state agenci, legislative committees and schedules, a chart outlining the legislative process, and information on how to keep track of legislation.
Rates: Single copies, 50¢; 2-10 copies, 30¢ each; 11-50 copies 20¢ each; 51 or more copies, 15¢ each. Plus sales tax.

Propositions

The May *California Journal* will contain a special eight-page section analyzing the nine measures on the June ballot. We recommend placing your order for extra copies of this booklet. Prices are the same as for the Campaign '74 booklet, above.

Campaign '74

The *Primary Election Analysis* provides an eight-page listing of the candidates for all statewide, Congressional, Senate, and Assembly seats, with a brief aalysis of each race.
Rates: Single copies, 50¢; 2-10 copies, 40¢ each; 11-50 copies, 30¢ each; 51 or more copies, 20¢ each.

Back Copies

Back copies of all issues of the *Journal* except November 1973 and February 1974 are available for $1.50 each. Complete years cost $15, including annual index. (Indexes are also available for $1.50 each.) For $60, we will send you four years of the *Journal* (1970-73) complete with annual indexes.

Binders

Journal binders — handsome, loose-leaf, gold-stamped — are available for each year.
$7.00 each, plus tax.

Samish Book

Although not a *Journal* publication, we have a number of copies of the humorous autobiography of the late Artie Samish, *The Secret Boss of California.*
Originally published at $5.95, the book is available from the *Journal* for $3.00.

Nothing is so corrupting as a great idea whose time is past.

– John P. Grier

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED